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CHAPTER I.

PRINCIPLES.

Article 1.—The Republic assures liberty of conscience. It guarantees the free exercise of worship under the sole restrictions set forth hereinafter in the interest of public order.

Article 2.—The Republic neither recognizes nor salaries nor subventions any form of worship. Consequently, from January 1, after the promulgation of the present law, there will be struck out of the Budgets of the State, of the Departments, and of the Communes, all expenses connected with the exercise of worship. However, there may be set down in the aforesaid Budgets the expenses necessary for the service of chaplains and those intended to ensure the free exercise of worship in public establishments such as lycées, colleges, schools, hospitals, asylums, and prisons.

The public establishments of worship are suppressed under reserve of the dispositions set forth in Article 3.

CHAPTER II.

APPORTIONMENT OF PROPERTY: PENSIONS.

Article 3.—The establishments ordered to be suppressed by Article 2 shall continue to act provisionally

according to existing regulations until the transference of their property to the associations provided for by Chapter IV, and at latest till the expiration of the term set forth below.

On the promulgation of the present law the agents of the *Administration des Domaines* shall proceed to make a descriptive inventory and estimate:

1. Of the personal and real property of the aforesaid establishments;
2. Of the property of the State, the Departments, and the Communes, of which the same establishments have now the use.

This twofold inventory shall be drawn up after hearing the legal representatives of the ecclesiastical establishments, or of persons duly summoned by a notification made in the usual administrative form.

The agents charged with the inventory shall have the right to compel the production of all title-deeds and documents useful to their work.

Article 4.—In a delay of a year from the promulgation of the present law, the personal and real property of the *menses*, *fabriques*, presbyteral councils, consistories, and other public ecclesiastical establishments of worship, with all the charges and obligations laid upon them and with their special apportionment, shall be made over by the legal representatives of those establishments to the associations, which shall be legally formed in accordance with the rules of general organization of the religion of which they are to maintain the exercise, according to the provisions of Article 19, for the exercise of their religion in the old districts of the establishments aforesaid.

Article 5.—The property indicated in the foregoing Article which came from the State, and which is not

encumbered with a pious foundation of a date later than the law of Germinal 18, Year X., shall revert to the State.

The handing over of property can only be made by the ecclesiastical establishments a month after the promulgation of the regulation of the public administrative provided for in Article 43. In default of this, nullity may be claimed before the civil court by any interested party or by the public ministry.

In the case of alienation by the association of worship of the personal or real property forming part of the patrimony of a dissolved public establishment, the amount of the product of the sale will have to be employed as stock, or under the conditions provided for in paragraph 2 of Article 22.

The purchaser of alienated property will be personally responsible for the regularity of that use.

The property claimed by the State, the Departments, or the Communes, may not be alienated, transformed, or exchanged, except under an enactment given by the competent courts.

Article 6.—The associations obtaining the property of the suppressed ecclesiastical establishments shall be held responsible for the debts of those establishments, as well as for the loans they have contracted, under reserve of the dispositions of paragraph 3 of the present Article; so long as they shall be under these liabilities, they shall have a right to the product of the revenues which ought to revert to the State in virtue of Article 5.

The full revenue of the aforesaid property remains earmarked for the payment of the balance of the regular and legal debts of the suppressed public establishment, so long as no association of worship shall have been

formed that is competent to take over the patrimony of that establishment.

The interest on the liabilities contracted for expenses connected with religious buildings shall be paid by the associations in proportion to the time during which they shall have the use of those buildings under the application of the dispositions of Chapter III.

In case the State, the Departments or the Communes shall re-enter into possession of the buildings belonging to them, they shall be responsible for the debts regularly contracted which cannot be separated from the aforesaid buildings.

Article 7.—The personal or real property encumbered with a charitable purpose, or any other purpose connected with the exercise of worship, shall be made over by the legal representatives of the ecclesiastical establishments to the services or public establishments, or of public utility, the aim of which is similar to that of the said property. This transference will have to be approved by the prefect of the department in which the ecclesiastical establishment is situated. In case of the sanction being withheld, it will be determined by a decree of the Council of State.

Every action for re-entry or reclaim must be taken within six months of the day on which the prefect's order or the decree sanctioning the transference shall have been published in the *Journal Officiel*. The action can only be brought with a view to donations and legacies, and by the donors or their direct heirs.

Article 8.—In default of an ecclesiastical establishment having proceeded to hand over, within the period prescribed, the property as above provided, provision will be made by decree.

At the expiration of the said term, the property to be

handed over will, until its conveyance, be placed under sequestration.

In cases where the property transferred under Article 4 and paragraph 1 of the present Article is claimed at once or later by several associations set up for the exercise of the same form of worship, the transference which shall have been made of it by the representatives of the establishment or by decree may be contested before the Council of State sitting as arbitrator which shall give its decision after taking into account all the circumstances of fact connected with the case.

The claim shall be brought before the Council of State within a year from the date of the decree, or of the notification to the prefectorial authority by the legal representatives of the public establishments of the religion concerned, of the conveyance of property they have made. This notification must be made within a month.

The transference may be afterwards contested in case of a division in the association that has profited, of the creation of a new association following on a modification of the territory of the ecclesiastical district, and in case of a beneficiary association being no longer able to fulfil its object.

Article 9.—In default of there being any association to take over the property of a public establishment of a religion, this property shall be handed over by decrees to the communal establishments of assistance and charity situated within the boundaries of the ecclesiastical district concerned.

In case of the dissolution of an association, the property conveyed to it under Articles 4 and 8 shall be made over by decree of the Council of State either to similar associations in the same district, or, in default of such,

in neighboring districts, to the establishments indicated in the first paragraph of the present Article.

All actions for re-entry and reclaim must be brought within six months of the date of the publication of the decree in the *Journal Officiel*. The action may only be brought in connection with donations and legacies, and then only by the donors and their heirs in the direct line.

Article 10.—The conveyance provided for by the foregoing Articles is to be made without profit to the Treasury.

Article 11.—Ministers of religion who, on the promulgation of the present law, shall be over 60 years of age, and who shall have held ecclesiastical positions salaried by the State for at least 30 years, shall receive an annual life pension equal to two-thirds of their stipend. Those who shall be over 45 years of age, and shall have held ecclesiastical positions salaried by the State for 25 years shall receive an annual pension for life equal to a half of their stipends.

The pensions awarded by the two foregoing paragraphs may not exceed 1,500 francs.

In case of the decease of the holders, these pensions are transferable to the extent of one-half of their full amount for the benefit of the widow and orphans under age left by the deceased, and to the extent of a quarter for the benefit of the widow without children under age. When orphans attain their majority their pensions shall lapse by an act of law.

Ministers of religion now salaried by the State who shall not be in the conditions above laid down shall during four years, counting from the suppression of the Budget of Worship, receive a grant equal to their full

stipend for the first year, to two-thirds for the second, to a half for the third, and to a third for the fourth.

Moreover, in communes of less than 1,000 inhabitants, and for ministers of religion who shall continue to fulfil their functions in the same, the duration of the four periods as fixed above shall be doubled.

The Departments and Communes shall be able, under the same conditions as the State, to grant ministers of religion now salaried by them, pensions or allowances on the same base and for the same period.

Reserve is made of the rights acquired in the matter of pensions by the application of previous legislation, as well as of assistance given to former ministers of the various religions or to their families.

The pensions provided for in the first two paragraphs of the present Article cannot run concurrently with any other pensions or stipends paid on any title whatsoever by the State, the departments or the communes.

The Law of June 27, 1885, on the personnel of the suppressed Faculties of Catholic Theology is applicable to professors charged with courses, masters of conferences and students of the Faculties of Protestant Theology.

The pensions and allowances above provided for shall be unceasing and inalienable under the same condition as civil pensions. They will legally lapse in case of condemnation to a penalty or degrading punishment or in case of condemnation for one of the offences set forth in Articles 34 and 35 of the present Law.

The right to obtain or enjoy a pension or an allowance shall be suspended by circumstances which cause a man to lose his position as a Frenchman during the period of his loss of that quality.

Applications for pensions must, under penalty of fore-

closure, be made within a year after the promulgation of the present Law.

CHAPTER III.

PLACES OF WORSHIP.

Article 12.—Buildings which have been placed at the disposal of the nation and which, in virtue of the Law of Germinal 18, Year X., serve for the public exercise of the various religions or for the housing of their ministers (cathedrals, churches, chapels, temples, synagogues, archbishops' and bishops' houses, presbyteries, seminaries), as well as their real property and the furniture in them at the time when these buildings were handed over to the different religions, are and shall remain the property of the State, the departments and the communes.

In the case of these buildings, as of those of a date later than the Law of Germinal 18, Year X., of which the State, the departments and the communes are the proprietors, including the Faculties of Protestant Theology, the procedure will be in accordance with the provisions of the articles which follow.

Article 13.—Buildings serving for the public exercise of worship, as well as the furniture in them, shall be left gratuitously at the disposal of the public establishment of worship, and then of the associations called upon to replace them, to which the property of the establishments in question shall have been conveyed by application of the provisions of Chapter II.

The cessation of this possession, and if need be its transference, shall be pronounced by decree, appeal being allowed to the Council of State:

1. If the beneficiary association is dissolved;
2. If, apart from cases of compulsion, the celebration of worship has ceased for more than six consecutive months;
3. If the keeping in repair of the place of worship and of the movable property classified under the Law of 1887, and of Article 6 of the present Law is compromised by lack of means, and after being ordered by a due notification from the municipal council or, in its default, from the prefect;
4. If the association ceases to fulfil its object or if the buildings are diverted from their purpose;
5. If it fails to fulfil the obligations of Article 6 or of the last paragraph of the present Article or the provisions relating to historical monuments.

The disappropriation of these buildings may, in the aforesaid cases, be pronounced by decree of the Council of State. In any other cases it must be effected by a Law.

The buildings heretofore appropriated to the different religions and in which the ceremonies of worship shall not have been celebrated for a year previous to the present law, as well as those which shall not be reclaimed by an association of worship within two years after its promulgation may be disappropriated by decree.

The same shall hold good for the buildings, the disappropriation of which shall have been claimed before June 1, 1905.

The public establishments of worship, and afterwards the beneficiary associations, shall be held responsible for repairs of every sort, as well as for the costs of insurance and other charges connected with the buildings and the furniture in them.

Article 14.—Archbishops' and bishops' houses, presbyteries, and their dependencies, the *grands séminaires* and faculties of Protestant theology shall be left gratuitously at the disposal of the public establishments of worship and afterwards of the associations indicated in Article 13, as follows: Archbishops' and bishops' houses for two years; presbyteries in communes in which the minister of religion is resident, *grands séminaires* and faculties of Protestant theology for five years from the date of the promulgation of the present law.

The establishments and associations are subject, in all that concerns these buildings, to the obligations indicated in the last paragraph of Article 13. They will not, however, be held responsible for landlords' repairs.

The cessation of possession by the establishments and associations shall be pronounced under the conditions and according to the forms laid down by Article 13. The provisions of paragraphs 3 and 5 of the same Article are applicable to the buildings indicated by paragraph 1 of the present Article.

The diversion for the public service of superfluous portions of the presbyteries left at the disposal of the associations of worship shall, during the period provided in paragraph 1, be pronounced by a decree of the Council of State.

At the expiration of the periods of gratuitous possession, liberty to dispose of the buildings shall revert to the State, the Departments and the Communes.

The cost of housing now falling upon the communes which have no presbytery, under Article 136 of the Law of April 5, 1884, shall remain at their charge for a period of five years. In case of the dissolution of the association it shall lapse incontestably.

Article 15.—In the Departments of Savoie, Haute-Savoie, and the Alpes-Maritimes, the possession of buildings of a date anterior to the Law of Germinal 18, Year X., which serve for the exercise of the various religions and the housing of their ministers, shall be handed over by the communes of the districts in which they are situated to the associations of worship, under the conditions indicated in Articles 12 and others following of the present Law. Outside these obligations the communes shall have the free disposal of the ownership of these buildings.

In the same departments the cemeteries shall remain the property of the communes.

Article 16.—A complementary classification shall be made of the buildings serving for the public exercise of worship (cathedrals, churches, chapels, temples, synagogues, archbishops' and bishops' houses, presbyteries, seminaries) in which shall be included all such buildings as have, as a whole or in part, an artistic or historical value.

The movable property, or that which by destination is immovable, mentioned in Article 13, which has not yet been entered on the list of classification drawn up in virtue of the law of March 30, 1887, is, by the effect of the present law, added to the said list. The Minister of Public Instruction and of the Fine Arts shall within three years proceed to the definitive classification of such of those objects as should present, for the point of view of history or art, a sufficient reason from their preservation. At the expiration of that term the other objects will by act of law fall out of classification.

Furthermore, the immovables and movables, handed over to the associations in virtue of the present law, may

be classified under the same conditions as if they belonged to public establishments.

With these exceptions the provisions of the Law of March 30, 1887, hold good.

The ecclesiastical archives and libraries in archbishops' and bishops' houses, *grands séminaires*, parochial churches and chapels-of-ease, and their dependencies, shall be inventoried, and those which shall be recognized as the property of the State shall be restored to it.

Article 17.—Property immovable in destination classified under the Law of March 30, 1887, under the present law is inalienable and imprescriptible.

In case where a sale or an exchange of a classified object has been authorized by the Minister of Public Instruction and of the Fine Arts, a right of pre-emption is granted: (1) To the associations of worship; (2) to the communes; (3) to the departments; (4) to museums and societies of art and archæology; (5) to the State. The price shall be fixed by three experts nominated by the vendor, the purchaser, and the president of the civil court.

If any of the purchasers indicated above do not use their right of pre-emption, the sale shall be an open one; but the purchaser of a classified object is forbidden to transport it out of France.

No work in the way of repair, restoration, or upkeep to be done to monuments or movable objects so classified may be entered upon without the sanction of the Minister of Fine Arts, nor carried out except under the surveillance of his administration under penalty to the proprietors, occupiers, or holders who shall have ordered the work of a fine of 16 to 1,500 francs.

Every infraction of the above provisions, as also of those of Article 16 of the present law, and of Articles

4, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of the Law of March 30, 1887, shall be punished by a fine of 100 to 10,000 francs, and by an imprisonment of six days to three months, or by one or other of these penalties singly.

The visitation of buildings and the exhibition of classified movable objects shall be public; and shall not be subject to any tax or rent.

CHAPTER IV.

ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE EXERCISE OF WORSHIP.

Article 18.—The associations formed for maintaining the cost, upkeep, and public exercise of a religion must be constituted in accordance with Articles 5 and following of Chapter I of the Law of July 1, 1901. They shall, moreover, be subject to the provisions of the present law.

Article 19.—These associations must have for their exclusive object the exercise of a particular form of worship, and must at least be composed of:

Seven persons, in communes of less than 1,000 inhabitants; fifteen persons in communes of 1,000 to 20,000 inhabitants; twenty-five adult persons, domiciled or resident within the ecclesiastical district in communes the inhabitants of which number over 20,000.

Any of their members may retire at any time after payment of the subscriptions that are due, and of those of the current year, notwithstanding any clause to the contrary.

Notwithstanding any clause to the contrary in the statutes, the acts of financial management and of legal administration of the property carried out by the di-

rectors or administrators shall be, at least once a year, presented to the control of the general meeting of the members of the association and submitted to its approval.

The associations shall be able to receive, in addition to the subscriptions provided for in Article 6 of the Law of July 1, 1901, the product of alms and collections for the expenses of worship and to take fees: for religious ceremonies and services even by foundations; for the letting of benches and seats; for the supply of objects for funeral services in religious buildings, and for the decoration of those buildings.

They may, without giving occasion to a collection of dues, give the surplus of their receipts to other associations formed for the same object.

They shall not be able, under any form whatsoever, to receive subventions from the State, the departments, or the communes. But those sums will not be considered as subventions which are allowed for the repair of classified monuments.

Article 20.—These associations may, under the forms prescribed by Article 7 of the Decree of August 16, 1901, form unions having a central administration or directorate; and these unions shall be regulated by Article 18, and by the last five paragraphs of Article 19 of the present Law.

Article 21.—The associations and unions shall keep an account of their receipts and expenditure; they shall each year draw up a balance sheet for the past year, and an inventory of their property real and personal. Financial control over the associations and unions shall be exercised by the Registration officials and the General Inspectorate of Finance.

Article 22.—The associations and unions may employ such funds as are at their disposal in the formation of a reserve sufficient for the cost of the upkeep of worship which may not in any case be diverted to other purposes; the total of this reserve may never in the case of unions and associations with more than 5,000fr. income, be more than three times, and in the case of other associations more than six times the annual average of the sums expended by each of them on the maintenance of worship during the last five years.

Independently of this reserve which must be placed in certain names, they shall be able to form a special reserve the funds of which may be deposited in money or deeds at the *Caisse des Depots et Consignations* to be exclusively employed along with the interest accruing in the purchase, construction or decoration of buildings or furniture destined for the needs of the association or union.

Article 23.—The directors or administrators of an association or union who shall have contravened Articles 18, 20, 21 and 22 shall be liable to a fine of 16 to 200 francs and in the case of a second offense to a fine double that amount.

The Courts shall be able in case of infraction of the first paragraph of Article 22, to condemn the association or union to hand over any excess to the communal establishments of aid and charity.

They may also, in all cases provided for in the first paragraph of the present Article, declare the dissolution of the association or union.

Article 24.—Buildings appropriated to the exercise of worship which belong to the State, the departments or the communes, shall continue to be free from land-tax and the door and window-tax.

The buildings which serve for the housing of ministers of religion, seminaries, and faculties of Protestant theology which belong to the State, the departments or the communes, and the property belonging to the associations or unions are subject to the same taxes as that belonging to private persons.

The associations and unions are not in any case subject to the *taxe d'abonnement* nor to that imposed on clubs by Article 33 of the Law of August 8, 1890, nor to the four per cent. income-tax established by the Laws of December 28, 1880, and of December 29, 1884.

CHAPTER V.

THE "POLICE" OF WORSHIP.

Article 25.—Assemblies for the celebration of worship in places belonging to an association of worship or at its disposal must be public. They are dispensed from the formalities of Article 8 of the Law of June 30, 1881, but they remain subject to the surveillance of the authorities in the interest of public order. They may only be held after a declaration which has been made according to the forms prescribed by Article 2 of the same law and names the place in which they are to be held.

A single declaration is sufficient for the whole series of regular, periodical or occasional assemblies which take place during the year.

Article 26.—It is forbidden to hold political meetings in places which regularly serve for the exercise of worship.

Article 27.—Ceremonies, processions, and other external demonstrations of religion shall continue to be regulated according to Articles 95 and 96 of the municipal law of April 5, 1884.

The ringing of bells shall be regulated by municipal decree and in case of disagreement between the mayor and the president or director of the association by order of the prefect.

The Regulation of public administration provided for by Article 43 of the present Law shall lay down the conditions, and the cases in which ringing shall take place for civil purposes.

Article 28.—It is forbidden for the future to erect or fix any religious sign or emblem on public monuments or in any public place whatsoever, except in buildings serving for worship, places of burial in cemeteries, funeral monuments, and in museums or exhibitions.

Article 29.—Contraventions of the foregoing Articles shall be punished by simple police penalties, in the cases of Articles 25 and 26.

Those who have organized a meeting or demonstration, those who have taken part in it as ministers of religion, and in the case of Articles 25, 26, and 27, those who have supplied the place of meeting shall be liable to these penalties.

Article 30.—According to the provisions of Article 2 of the Law of March 28, 1882, religious teaching may be given to children between the ages of six and thirteen on the registers of the public schools only outside school hours.

In regard to ministers of religion who should infringe these prescriptions, the provisions of Article 14 of the Law above mentioned will be carried out.

Article 31.—A fine of from 16 to 200 francs and imprisonment of 6 days to 2 months or one of these penalties singly will be inflicted on those who by deed, violence, or threats against an individual, by making him fear the loss of his employment or by exposing his person, family

or fortune to injury, shall have determined him to practise or refrain from practising a religion, to join or leave an association of worship, to contribute or abstain from contributing to the upkeep of a religion.

Article 32.—The same penalties shall be inflicted on those who shall have hindered, delayed, or interrupted the exercise of worship by brawling or disorder in the place used for those exercises.

Article 33.—The provisions of the two foregoing Articles only apply to those disorders, outrages or incidents, the nature or circumstances of which shall not call for the severer penalties of the Penal Code.

Article 34.—Any minister of religion who, in places in which worship is carried out, shall, by discourse pronounced, by reading, by distribution or placarding of writings, have outraged or defamed a citizen charged with a public service, shall be punished with a fine of 500 to 3,000 francs, and an imprisonment of a month to a year, or one of these penalties singly.

Article 35.—If a discourse delivered or a document placarded or publicly distributed in the places in which worship is held, contains a direct provocation to resist the execution of the laws or the legal acts of public authority, or tends to arouse or arm one section of the citizens against the others, the minister of religion who shall be guilty of it shall be punished with an imprisonment of 3 months to 2 years, without prejudice to the penalties of complicity in the cases wherein the provocation should be followed by sedition, revolt or civil war.

Article 36.—In the case of a condemnation by the police or correctional courts, by the application of Articles 25 and 26, 34 and 35, the association established for the exercise of worship in the place where the infraction has been committed, shall be civilly responsible.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

Article 37.—Article 463 of the Penal Code and the Law of March 26, 1891, are applicable to all cases in which the present Law provides penalties.

Article 38.—The religious congregations shall remain subject to the Laws of July 1, 1901, December 4, 1902, and July 7, 1904.

Article 39.—Young men who as ecclesiastical students have obtained the dispensation allowed by Article 23 of the Law of July 15, 1889, shall continue to benefit by it according to Article 99 of the Law of March 21, 1905, on condition that at the age of 26 years they are provided with employment as ministers of religion salaried by an association of worship and under reserve of the reasons which will be fixed by a Regulation of Public Administration.

Article 40.—For eight years from the promulgation of the present Law, ministers of religion shall not be eligible for the municipal councils in the communes in which they exercise their ecclesiastical functions.

Article 41.—The sums set at liberty each year by the suppression of the Budget of Worship, shall be divided between the communes, *pro rata*, of the amount of land-tax on property which shall have been assigned to them pending the inspection which shall precede the promulgation of the present Law.

Article 42.—The legal provisions relating to days which are at present holidays shall remain in force.

Article 43.—A Regulation of public administration drawn up within the three months following on the present Law, shall lay down the measures for ensuring its proper application.

Regulations of public administration shall lay down the conditions under which the present Law shall be carried out in Algeria and the Colonies.

Article 44.—All provisions connected with the public organization of the religions previously recognized by the State, as well as all provisions contrary to the present Law, are and remain abrogated, and notably:

1. The Law of Germinal 18, Year X., providing that the Convention passed on Messidor 26, Year IX., between the Pope and the French Government, together with the Organic Articles of the said Convention and of the Protestant worship, shall be carried out as Laws of the Republic;
2. The decree of March 26, 1852, and the Law of August 1, 1879, on Protestant worship;
3. The decrees of March 17, 1808, the Law of February 8, 1831, and the ordinance of May 25, 1844, on Jewish worship;
4. The decrees of December 22, 1812, and March 19, 1859;
5. Articles 201 to 208, 260 to 264, and 294 of the Penal Code;
6. Articles 100 to 101, paragraphs 11 and 12 of Article 126 and Article 167 of the Law of April 5, 1884;
7. The decree of December 30, 1809, and Article 78 of the Law of January 26, 1892.

—*London Tablet.*



The Church in 1905



THE year 1905 is past and gone. In many respects it will be an eventful one in history. Political events of capital importance for Europe and for the world have succeeded one another with alarming rapidity. The fall of Port Arthur, the defeat at Mukden, the capture or annihilation of the Russian fleet, shattered the political power of the Muscovite Empire for generations, while they brought to a crisis at home the long-increasing demand for representative government. By the peace of Portsmouth and the offensive and defensive alliance with England, Japan, which till recent days was a negligible factor in political concerts, is advanced to the rank of a first-rate power, and the prospect of the awakening and resurrection of the Eastern races has reached a new stage on the road of probability. Nor has Western Europe been unaffected by these events. France, obliged by the Russian defeats to seek some new safeguard against the Teutonic invasions, has reversed her traditional policy of opposition to England; while as a counter-move in the game of politics the Kaiser turns his sympathetic gaze towards his suffering brother of Russia. The Dual Empires, too, have had unpleasant experiences. Norway and Sweden mutually agreed to part company; Austria and Hungary would have been better had they followed the example thus set, and, who knows, but before another year has passed for us, a still more interesting separation may not have been decreed?

In Catholic circles, too, the year has just passed has not been an altogether uneventful one. The life of the Church, like that of the individual, is to be a life of warfare. She has had her crosses and defeats, but she has also had her consolations. Under the present illustrious Pontiff, whose motto is, the renewal of all things in Christ, she has freed herself more and more from the nets of diplomatic entanglements, to the strengthening of her own innate powers of defense. We are not of those who think that in the days of the Middle Ages the Church reached her prime, and that the remainder of her course must be marked by signs of senility and decay. New developments in social and educational circles, though at first apparently antagonistic, but open new spheres for her activity and new fields for her conquest, and it only requires a man and a policy to ensure success. Never before did the Church stand in a higher or better position. Old abuses, which for centuries crippled her power, have been eradicated; the doles of State assistance with their consequences of slavery and silence have disappeared, or are rapidly disappearing, and in the present conditions of the world may they never return; the union of the different parts with one another and with Rome is closer and more sympathetic than it had ever been; new activities have been developed, new weapons of defense have been pressed into the service, new policies more in conformity with modern developments have been initiated, and with courage, patience, and withal, prudence, the ultimate triumph is, we are convinced, assured.

Pius X has himself set the example of activity. With the keen eye of a general marshalling his forces for the fray he has seen the weak spots, and he has had the courage to point them out. The Commissions for the

reforming of Canon Law, for the improvement of Church Music, for the unraveling of the Biblical problem, have engaged his sympathetic attention; the multiplication of congregations and of offices, and of dignities, has not escaped his eagle scrutiny; his desire to give all parts of the Church due representation in the College of Cardinals has been exemplified by the appointment of a South American Prelate; new life has been infused into the Roman Universities; Apostolic Visitors have been appointed for Italy; the initiation of Provincial instead of Diocesan Seminaries is, we believe, under consideration. His Encyclicals, too, on the Social Question in Italy, on the Teaching of Christian Doctrine throughout the world, his letter to the Austrian Prelates on the "Los von Rom" movement in the Dual Empire, his many consistorial references to the present policy of the French Republic, have aroused universal interest. What is best for the present circumstances, not what is most in conformity with traditions, is his aim; and friends and foes alike admit that Pius X is not to be debarred by difficulties from carrying his view into practice.

Politically, too, the power of the Holy See has been sufficiently demonstrated. The representative of the Pope undertook, and successfully carried out, to the satisfaction of the contending parties, an arbitration between Brazil and Bolivia, and later between Brazil and Peru; the Emperor of Russia has expressed his anxiety to have a regularly accredited Ambassador of Rome at St. Petersburg; the Sultan of Turkey and the ruler of China were anxious for a Papal representative at Constantinople and Peking; the Mikado received, in his island kingdom, with every mark of honor, the Extraordinary Envoy of the Pope; the Kaiser is well known to be playing at Rome for the place vacated by France; the

new King of Norway officially notified his accession to the throne to the Holy See—the first official communication between Rome and Norway since the Reformation; while in the forthcoming assembly of the Powers at the Hague, it is not improbable that the Holy See will secure the representation in their councils that had been previously refused.

In Italy the relations between Church and State, though remaining essentially the same, have been considerably modified. A spirit of mutual forbearance and conciliation has taken the place of the bitter opposition consequent upon the events of 1870. The utter rout of the forces of anarchy and disorder brought about by the union of Italian conservatives has not been without its lesson to the Vatican and the Quirinal. Italy has refused to follow in the wake of the anti-Catholic party in France, but she intends to profit by it, in securing for herself, in part at least, the French Protectorate over the Catholic missions. On the other hand, in his *Whit-suntide* Encyclical, Pius X urged the Catholics to throw themselves into the social work, to form associations on the model of the German Catholic Associations, to dispute the ground with the anti-Catholic socialists, and, eventually, to form a Catholic party to defend Catholic interests in Italy, as the Centre defends them in Germany. It was an appeal for the union of the conservative and radical elements into which the Catholic ranks in Italy had been long divided. Three men, distinguished in economic circles, were appointed to draft the constitution of the new organization, and have since then given the fruits of their labor to the world. But, unfortunately, for the present, the Christian Democrats, or Autonomists, as they are called, have not ceased in their campaign of opposition. We are not, however, without

hope that under the stress of circumstances the present bitterness will pass away, and all Italian Catholics will be found united in their allegiance to the policy sketched by Pius X.

There has been a marked revival of Catholic life throughout Italy. In the municipal elections the Catholics, either alone or in alliance with some friendly party, achieved some notable successes; the Holy Father's discourses to the children and the grown-up people of Rome have excited the greatest interest; the efforts of the Catholic bishops to help the poor Italian emigrants have won the marked recognition of the Government and of the King; the jubilee of Bishop Bonnomelli of Cremona, who had done so much for the Italians in the East, was a national festival for Italy, while the death of Mgr. Scalabrini of Piacenza, the friend of the Italian emigrants of the West, was lamented as a national loss. The attitude of the leaders in the literary world has been considerably modified towards the Church. Giovanni Pascoli sang the golden jubilee of Mgr. Bonnomelli. Fogazzaro organized the celebrations in honor of Cardinal Capecaltro, and Graf has recently announced his conversion to the Catholic faith. The social works initiated by the clergy and by the people, of which the diocese of Bergamo is a standing example, continue to spread rapidly; and on the whole, despite the divisions in Catholic ranks, the Church has no reason to regret her progress in Italy during the year just passed.

In France the policy initiated by M. Waldeck-Rousseau, and in greater part carried out by M. Combes, has, at last, under M. Rouvier, been brought to a successful issue. The Church and State are finally divorced. The decree that went forth so often from the Masonic lodges has in the end received the approval of the Chamber and

the Senate, and the signature of the President of the French Republic. France as an official Catholic nation has ceased to exist. For Catholics throughout the world, but more especially for Irish Catholics, the news has been a cruel blow, but it was one for which they were prepared. They may indeed have hoped that the Church would have made a better struggle, they may have counted too much upon the traditional devotion and generosity of the French nation, they may have thought that even in the last moment a man would arise capable of repairing the blunders of the past, and welding together the friends of religion and of liberty, but still they knew that, sooner or later, the divorce must come.

The important question must now be faced: What is to be done under the new conditions? According to the new law the Republic will no longer recognize officially any religion, and will give no aid to its support. The Budget of Worship and all departmental and communal estimates for religious expenses will be suppressed. The ministers of religion who are over sixty years of age, and who have given at least thirty years' service, are to receive as a pension two-thirds of their present salary; those over forty-five, and who have given over twenty years' work, receive one-half, and all others will receive their full salary for the first year after the separation, two-thirds for the second, one-half for the third, one-third for the fourth, and henceforth the State will recognize no obligations towards them.

The property of the Church in France—cathedrals, churches, seminaries, presbyteries, with all their belongings—will be transferred to the Associations of Worship, which will take the place, in a certain sense, of the present *fabriques*. These associations, whose sole object is to be religious, are to consist of seven persons in a

parish of one thousand people, of fifteen if the parish has over a thousand and under twenty thousand, and of twenty-five if the population be greater. These parochial associations can unite together with a central direction and administration, and thus the religious associations in a diocese may be joined together for diocesan interests. They will be recognized by the Government as legal corporations, and will enjoy all the privileges of such. They are to give an account of their work to the people once a year, and their financial status is to be examined by governmental departments.

On this point there are two restrictions to be noted, one of which is injurious to the Church and the other distinctly favorable. These associations can build up a reserve fund, but the extent of that reserve is strictly limited. For associations with 5,000 francs of revenue they can accumulate only a sum equal to three times their annual expense, and for the others the reserve fund must not exceed six times their annual outlay. The reserve must be securely invested; but in addition they may also accumulate a special fund, to be placed in certain investments, for the buying, construction, repair or decoration of property suitable for the objects of the association. On the other hand, it is understood, though the final decision rests with the Council of State, that no association will be recognized unless its priest is in a position to perform the usual duties of a Catholic priest; that is to say, that he is in subjection to his bishop who is himself in communion with Rome. If this interpretation be given to the law, the danger of schism will be, to a great extent, removed.

To these associations of worship will be handed over most of the Church property—the cathedrals, churches, seminaries, presbyteries, etc.—with this difference, that

in case of the church they are to be handed over gratuitously, but in the case of archepiscopal and episcopal houses, they are given for only two years, and the seminaries and presbyteries for five years. On the expiration of these terms they become the property of the State or department or commune. But beside this movable and immovable property, the associations can obtain funds by gifts, by collections, by fees for religious ceremonies, by foundations, by hiring out the seats and places in the church, and in many other ways, the only restriction being that they can receive no help from the State under any title whatsoever.

Regulations for securing public order are also introduced. Religious gatherings are under the surveillance of the police; with the mayor lies the regulating of processions and of ringing the bells; heavy fines are levelled against anyone forcing another to join a religious function or to contribute to its expenses, against ministers of religion defaming by sermon or public notice any citizen of France, against any minister of religion who would encourage resistance to the laws, or whose sermons would tend to rouse one party against another. These are the principal clauses of the Bill of Separation.

Now, there are two lines of opinion in France regarding the action that should be taken in the present circumstances. One party would have nothing to do with the new law. They would not organize these associations of worship nor give any countenance to their organization; they maintain that such associations introduce democratic elements into the Church, essentially at variance with her Divine constitution. Besides, they argue, the present law is but the beginning of the persecution. The anti-religious elements are not content, and, as a result, the very earliest opportunity will be

utilized to place on the statute-book still more stringent measures. But another, and we think a wiser, party stoutly maintain that Catholics should be up and doing, that they should begin at once the work of organization, that the principle of lay control of the finances, though not the usual system, is, still, not in opposition to the constitution of the Church, that the fear of future robbery should not prevent the householder from fortifying his house against attack. They point out, too, that what the Church has lost in funds she has gained in freedom; that the appointment of bishops, which hitherto rested with the Government, will now be vested in the Holy See, which will appoint men, not for their political services or their readiness to meet the wishes of the secular power, but for their ability and readiness to defend the interests of the Church; that the fourteen Sees now lying vacant on account of the action of the present Ministry can at once be filled, and that with good bishops to guide the fortunes of the Church, the present crisis will soon pass away, and in the end Catholicity will progress as it has progressed in the English-speaking countries.

The opinions of these latter will, we trust, prevail, but until the regulations of the Council of State for the enforcement of the law are seen, and especially until the Holy Father has spoken, it is not safe to give a very definite opinion. Pius X has followed the course of events in France with anxious attention. He has heard the views of all parties expounded by the ablest exponents; he has around him many devoted counsellors who are in close touch with the state of affairs in France; he has no interests to seek except the welfare of the Church, and, therefore, he is in a position to pronounce an impartial verdict on the new law, and to give an

authoritative declaration on the policy which should be adopted by French Catholics. We are confident that he will soon publish his views, and we trust that they will be loyally accepted by all.

But, if Catholics have reason to regret the state of affairs in France, they have still better grounds to rejoice at the position of the Church in the German Empire. What a change since the days of the Kulturkampf under the Iron Chancellor! The Kulturkampf and its authors are gone, but the fruit of their work remains, and is represented by the Centre party in the Reichstag, which party in itself is typical of the perfectly organized forces of German Catholicism. It is now the most powerful section of the German representatives, counting one hundred pledged members, and, in union with the Alsatians, Poles, Guelfs, etc., can command over one hundred and thirty votes on any religious question. The Emperor perfectly recognizes that the Centre is the only real bulwark against the advancing tide of Socialism, and hence his readiness to comply with the demands of the party. Nor are there any signs of weakness or decay to be found in the Centre. The recent elections in Bavaria were a sweeping triumph for the Catholics over the Liberals, and in Baden, too, they have achieved some notable successes. The Catholic Congress held this year in Strasburg was even more imposing than before, and the utmost unanimity marked the proceedings. Persecution was advantageous to Germany. It welded together the Catholic forces, and we are not without hope that it may produce the same effect in France.

Perhaps the most interesting development in the Empire during the past year was the attacks made upon the Catholic student societies at the German universities. For over sixty years the Catholic societies have existed

at the universities. The necessity for such separate foundations will be evident, if it be remembered that most of the student bodies are organized on a duelling basis, or recognize the lawfulness of such forms of "satisfaction." The motto of the Catholic societies, on the contrary, is religion, science and good-fellowship. In recent years many new societies were formed, the work of organization was perfected, and the Catholics had secured a position at the German universities that they could have never hoped for without such union. The result was noticeable, both in the tone of the universities themselves, and in the public life of the country.

The extreme Protestant parties took alarm at the spread and success of the movement. The Evangelische Bund, corresponding more or less with "The Protestant Alliance" of these countries, passed resolutions condemning the Catholic student societies, and calling upon the Government to suppress them. Their cry was the freedom of university life. Young men, they said, going to the universities should begin life without guiding strings, they should be at liberty to select for themselves in religion and politics, and the Catholic societies were a menace to the intellectual and political life of the Empire. The agitation soon spread. Jena was the first place to adopt their resolutions, and the technical schools of Hanover were not slow to follow the example, and in the February Reunion at Eisenach the decree of dissolution against the Catholic societies was pronounced. The matter was brought before the Reichstag. The Catholic students were ably defended by Dr. Porsch, himself a member of a Catholic student society—and the Chamber was practically unanimous in condemning the agitation.

In May, the Minister of Education summoned the

Rectors of the universities to a conference, and the student societies were one of the items for discussion. The Minister insisted that the students were free to do as they pleased—to join any or no society—and he called upon the rectors to allow no intimidation or persecution of the free corporations. His instructions did not put an end to the controversy. A campaign of boycott was initiated but the Catholic students were not to be easily crushed. Their answer to the agitation was the foundation of many new societies, and nobody who saw them march through the streets of Freiburg to High Mass last summer, or through Strasburg at the Catholic Reunion of Germany, could have any fear that they mean to barter one iota of their freedom or their principles, even at the bidding of the Evangelische Bund.

For Catholics throughout the Russian Empire the recent disasters have not been without good fruit. Religious as well as political liberty has been granted by the recent Imperial decrees. But in no other part of the Empire has the Church benefited more than in Poland. There the freedom of religion was hedged round by many restrictions. The priests were at best only ticket-of-leave men; they could not go outside their parish without special permission, and reunions were almost an impossibility. Religious instruction in Polish was forbidden, and in the schools Polish was ruthlessly pursued. But the recent war disasters put an end to such autocratic rule. The Russian popular assembly is certain to be favorable to Poland, as is shown in the resolutions of the Zemstvos in Moscow.

The first result of the Imperial decrees may be seen in the territory of the "Uniate" Ruthenians. These unfortunate people were betrayed by their Metropolitan. They had been in communion with Rome, but their Pri-

mate joined the "orthodox" Church years ago, and they suddenly found themselves registered as orthodox. They were commanded to conform to the orthodox religion, their priests were banished, their churches sequestered. Persecution followed persecution, in spite of the protests of the Holy See, but the poor, unfortunate people refused to accept the orthodox faith. The result was that they were left without the Sacraments of the Church, except Baptism, which they administered themselves; they assembled in the woods or private houses for their devotions. They remained devoted to Rome in spirit, though separated from it by force, and, as soon as the Imperial ukase appeared they hastened to put themselves into communication with Rome. The result is that the Church has gained an immense number of recruits in the last six months; by many it is estimated that over half a million have declared themselves Catholics, anxious to remain in submission to Rome. Whole villages have turned over at the same time. These are only the first fruits of the new awakening in Russia, and still more important developments may be expected in the near future.

The state of Catholicity in the Dual Empire (Austria and Hungary) is not entirely satisfactory. We fear that there, too, the evils of State control are only too visible and that an effort must be made if the Church is to maintain her position. But it is pleasing to know that there is new life and energy in the Catholic ranks. After the Papal Letter to the Austrian Bishops on the "Los von Rom" movement—a proselytizing movement adopted by the Pan-Germanic party—serious steps are being taken to combat the evils. Societies are being formed, churches are being built, collections are being organized to send priests into the districts hitherto neglected. The reli-

gious character of the schools is engaging serious attention, and an effort is being made to found a new Catholic University at Salzburg. How far such a step is prudent in Austria at present, we leave it to the organizers to determine. Unfortunately, the Catholic parties are not unanimous in regard to the line of action to be pursued, and the present political troubles between Austria and Hungary have tended to throw the religious programme into the background. But the recent reunion of the Austrian Catholics may help to put an end to their dissensions, and if they were only united, the new energy in the Catholic ranks would give us hope for the future of Austria.

We can merely glance at the remaining Continental countries. In Belgium the Catholic party still controls the Government, and bids fair to control it for a long time to come, though we are still uncertain whether it is wise to identify the interests of the Church with the fortunes of a political party so closely as has been done; in Holland the Catholics form about one-third of the population, and the Catholic representatives hold the balance of power between the Evangelicals and the Socialists; in Switzerland the position of the Catholics could hardly be more encouraging; in Sweden there is a Catholic population of two thousand, with a Vicar-Apostolic and sixteen priests; in Norway the number is a little higher; in Denmark the figure reaches about seven thousand. Spain, if anything, has improved under its excellent young Catholic king, and Portugal is no worse than it has been for years.

Before passing to other countries it might be well to call attention to the serious struggle which the Church is forced to sustain throughout the world in defense of religious education. In Ireland and England our readers

are perfectly familiar with the difficulties of the situation; in France religion has been banished from the schools, but we hope the scholars are still not neglected; in Italy religious instruction used to be given unless the parents object—now, unfortunately, the parents must demand it; in Austria and Belgium there is danger brewing; in America separate schools still keep their flag flying, as is shown by the Sheedy Report in the recent blue book on education; in Canada the Laurier compromise has secured Catholic teachers for Catholic children in the northwestern territories; in Australia the bishops have reasons for protesting against the system; and in New Zealand the united Hierarchy have registered their objection against wholesale Bible reading in the public schools. The cause of religious education is a sacred one and an important one, and from this brief epitome of the state of affairs throughout the world, it will be evident that the enemies of the Church are sparing no pains to secure the ultimate triumph of secularism. It behooves Catholics to note the turn which affairs are taking, and to determine upon the line of defense best suited to modern requirements.

In the United States Catholics have no reason to regret the work that has been done in recent years. According to the *Wiltzius Directory* (1905) there are now under the United States jurisdiction, 22,127,354 Catholics—that is to say, about twelve millions on the mainland, over one million in Porto Rico, and seven millions in the Philippine Islands. Great sacrifices are being made to maintain the separate Catholic schools. New York alone has paid out \$4,839,000 for its sixty schools, frequented by 40,000 pupils, and their annual cost exceeds \$320,000. By the recent decision of the President we understand that the Indian Catholic schools can re-

ceive an endowment from the funds annually devoted to the Indians in lieu of regular government appropriations withdrawn since 1899. New dioceses have been formed, and new activity is evidenced by the Federation of Catholic Workmen's Societies, and, in the literary world, by the project of publishing a scholarly and scientific Catholic encyclopedia.

The need of such a publication has long been felt. Encyclopedias, indeed, there are in sufficient numbers in the English language, but a glance at a few of the articles will be sufficient to prove how little the writers understood or appreciated Catholic beliefs and sentiments. It is to such books that Catholics must at present have recourse, if they want to procure the information they require; and the influence for evil upon their readers is sufficiently evident from the work the Encyclopedists did in undermining the faith of the French nation. Hence it is, that a number of Catholic scholars in America have determined to do for the English language what has been already done for the French and the German. The names of the committee embracing, as it does, the foremost Catholic scholars in America, some of them Professors at the Catholic University, are a sufficient guarantee that the work will be done in a scholarly style. Writers have been secured throughout the English-speaking Catholic world, and the publishers are prepared to spare no expense to make the encyclopedia not unworthy of the Catholic faith. We wish the project every success.

There is, too, another institution on American soil to which Irish Catholics turn with sympathy and confidence—the Catholic University at Washington. They look to it as the crowning and completion of the great work of education done by Catholics in the States; they recognize its necessity, they know its capabilities, and they are

confident that under its present management it will satisfy all their expectations. Difficulties it has met with, we admit; friends have not rallied round it as they might have done; its financial reverses would have broken the courage of less devoted laborers; but, as Cardinal Gibbons put it in his memorable letter, the honor of Catholic America is pledged for its success, and Catholic America seldom knows failure. The Pope has blessed the work, the bishops are at present unanimous in its support; an annual collection taken up through the States about the beginning of Advent has been inaugurated; the present financial status, though far from perfect, is reassuring; and with its excellent staff we are confident the number of its students will equal that of the leading American universities. It requires time, no doubt, before the necessity of such an institution is recognized in certain circles, but nowadays we would fain believe that the recognition is universal.

In Australia and New Zealand the progress of the Church has been completely satisfactory. In 1904 a great Catholic Congress was held at Melbourne, attended by representatives from all parts of Australia, and the report of the proceedings prove beyond doubt the vitality and the advance of the Church in Australia. During the present year the Australian Hierarchy met together at Sydney, under the presidency of Cardinal Moran, and in their joint pastoral issued to the Australian people the progress in the Church is sufficiently indicated:

"The period [they say] has been one of quiet growth and consolidation rather than of that pioneer missionary expansion which was distinctive of earlier periods of our history. Our Catholic population in Australia has grown to something over a million (1,011,550). The clergy number over thirteen hundred; the teaching

brothers over six hundred; the nuns over five thousand five hundred. We maintain thirty-three colleges for boys, and one hundred and sixty-nine boarding schools for girls; two hundred and fifteen superior day-schools, ten hundred and eighty-seven primary schools, ninety-four charitable institutions, and the children in Catholic schools number over one hundred and twenty-seven thousand. From these figures it can be seen that although ours is a land which has developed and grown with the rapidity of adolescence, the Church has progressed also, even so as to keep well to the front among the most progressive institutions of the country."

The news of the progress of Catholicity in Australia was welcome to Catholics throughout the world, but especially did it send a thrill of pleasure through Irish hearts. Under the Southern Cross many of our exiled countrymen have found a home, and the interests of the Church there are in the hands of Irish ecclesiastics. Their devotion to their Mother Church and country was appropriately expressed in their address to the Hierarchy of Ireland, and in the name of Catholic Australia, Cardinal Moran, a few days ago, sent his touching message of sympathy to the representatives of the Irish nation.

For the Catholic Missions, too, the year 1905 has not been an unfavorable one. It was feared that the religious disturbances in France would have a disastrous effect in places far remote from France, for, as everyone knows, French Catholics have been the mainstays of missionary efforts during the last one hundred years. French men and French money were freely placed at the disposal of the Church, and we are confident, even in these dark days, that God will not desert a nation which has done so much to spread the Gospel light. It is true, no doubt, that the banishment or suppression of the re-

ligious Orders and the diplomatic rupture with the Vatican have had injurious effects on the Catholic missions; and nowadays, with the separation of Church and State, when the people will be obliged to contribute to the support of their pastors and of the Church, it will be impossible to expect that there will not be a diminution in the amount of French contributions to the Propagation of the Faith and other kindred societies.

But the Providence of God is watching over the Church. If one race or nation fail, another rises to take its place. Germany, which till recent years did comparatively little in the missionary field, is rapidly coming to the front. Numerous societies have been established throughout Austria and Germany for the spread of the Gospel, for collecting funds and for training missionaries. The Emperor, too, is not unconscious of the advantage such efforts might bring to the State in developing the sphere of German influence in distant lands. He recognizes to the full, what France has gained by its protectorate over the Christian missions of the East, and in the present crisis he hopes that Germany might occupy the place vacated by its rival. America, too, bids fair to excel in its contributions towards the funds of the Catholic missions. It was only in 1897 that the Council of American Bishops officially took up the work of the Propagation of the Faith, and warmly recommended it to the generosity of American Catholics. Nor has their appeal been long without a gratifying response. According to the most recent reports the diocese of Boston has actually contributed more money than the great diocese of Lyons, which is the home of the organization, and which for eighty-two years has headed the list; and many other American dioceses have been almost equally generous in their subscriptions. There is, then, no fear that

the Catholic missionary forces will be crippled for want of funds, and, despite the few reverses which even this year they have met with, the progress of the missions has been steady and reassuring.

In England during the year that is passed, the question of education has been most prominent in Catholic quarters. The Bill of 1902, though good, in so far as it recognizes the rights of parents to the religious education of their children, has not been working so smoothly as many of its supporters anticipated. When the local authorities are unfriendly, difficulties of all kinds have been put in the way of the Catholic schools. The premises were condemned, or the teachers were underpaid, as in London, or the necessity for separate schools was disregarded. With patience and determination perhaps the difficulties will pass away; but, without professing to possess an intimate acquaintance with all its workings, we must admit that we have for the future the gravest fears.

The limit of compromise has at least been reached, and we think Catholics can surrender nothing more without surrendering principles for which the Catholic Church has maintained many a severe struggle. Hence it is that friends were shocked and alarmed at one incident in the history of the school question last year, namely, what was known as the Bradford Concordat. There, the Catholic authorities seemed to have agreed to hand over a Catholic secondary school to the management of a committee, two-thirds of whom were to be elected by the City Council and only one-third by the trustees. Teachers were to be appointed without any reference to their religious beliefs, and no religious education was to be given in school hours, or to be paid for from the public rates. The principle of Catholic teachers for Catholic

children is, we think, the main contention of the Catholics, and no compromise surrendering such a principle could be tolerated. Fortunately, the Catholic Education Council promptly condemned the Concordat, the Bishops expressed their approval of the form and substance of the condemnation, and, as a result, the Catholics who had signed the agreement withdrew from the understanding. Such weakness, though in the most difficult circumstances, does much to injure the Catholic position.

What fortune the present year may have in store for the Catholic schools of England we do not profess to know. The policy of the Liberal Government depends upon so many factors, at present uncertain, that no man, short of a prophet, could hope to foretell what the next few months may bring to light. That the Education Act of 1902 will be modified we have very little doubt; but that the Catholic schools of England will suffer by the modifications we have not the slightest fear. The separate treatment of Catholic schools may, indeed, be the solution, and though criticized, we are not yet convinced that it involves any certain risk of future ruin. It would, indeed, be a privilege, but it would be a privilege for which Catholics have made a sacrifice never made, and never likely to be made, by any other Christian denomination. It would be a privilege, too, guaranteed by a Liberal Government, and Tory Administrations are not, from their principles, opposed to such privileges. But whatever be the plan proposed, of one thing we are confident, and that is, that the interests of the Catholic schools of England are safe in the hands of the Irish party. However much the party may have reason to resent the attitude of some of the leaders and organs of English Catholic Toryism, they have pledged themselves to maintain the cause of Catholic education, and

they are not accustomed to shirk their pledges. But if they are prepared to do the work, if they are prepared to undertake the responsibility, and in their present position the responsibility is a serious one, surely they should be allowed to measure the ground for themselves, and to select the spot best suited for manœuvring.

In Ireland, too, the Education question, primary, secondary, and University, has been the main topic of discussion in Catholic circles during the year 1905. The Commissioners of National Education, by their amalgamation tendencies and their withdrawal of fees for the teaching of the Irish language, have aroused popular feeling against them as it has hardly ever before been aroused. How long they can continue under present circumstances in setting at defiance the protests of managers, teachers, and people yet remains to be seen. Thinking men are at last waking up to recognize the anomalous position which Trinity College holds in the educational advance of the Irish nation. If indeed it were an Irish University, progressive with the progress of the times, anxious for the development of the mental and material resources of Ireland, proud of the Irish literary and historical treasures left to it to unfold—we could well understand why Dublin University should exercise a predominant influence over secondary and primary education in Ireland. But there it stands on Irish soil, indeed, but almost the only English institution which has remained for centuries uninfluenced by its Irish surroundings. With its immense revenues, drawn for the most part from Irish sources, it has persistently refused to suit its teaching to Irish requirements or Irish sentiments, with the result that foreigners have had to be summoned to superintend the industrial development, and foreign scholars—French and German and Italian and Danish—

have had to undertake the publication of Irish manuscripts, many of which are safely lodged in the Library of Trinity College. Unfitted by its constitution to advance with the progress of the times, it has either stood still or gone back when similar institutions were advancing, and now it stands an object of contempt for any one who understands the work a national university should accomplish. Yet it is such an establishment as this, itself above all examination or supervision, outside the sphere of every commission or report, that manages to control, to a great extent, the secondary and primary education of the country. We trust that the recognition of such an anomaly will soon be universal, and that the recognition may bring the country relief from such a reactionary influence.

The University grievance was well kept before public attention during the year. This is in itself a distinct gain, for one of the great difficulties in the way of some settlement is the fact that the mass of the people have never realized the importance and necessity of such an institution. In the early part of the year the Trinity College Scholarships—consisting partly of College foundations and partly from funds supplied by Sir John Nutting—opened the eyes of the people that Trinity College, with its falling numbers and its shattered reputation, was willing to stoop to any methods that might fill its vacant halls. The proposers of such a plan must surely have lived all their lives inside the walls of Trinity College, else they would have better realized the feelings which such a bribe was likely to evoke amongst the Irish people. The Bishops promptly expressed their condemnation of such a scheme, and strengthened their condemnation by establishing a number of Scholarships themselves for the most promising Intermediate students.

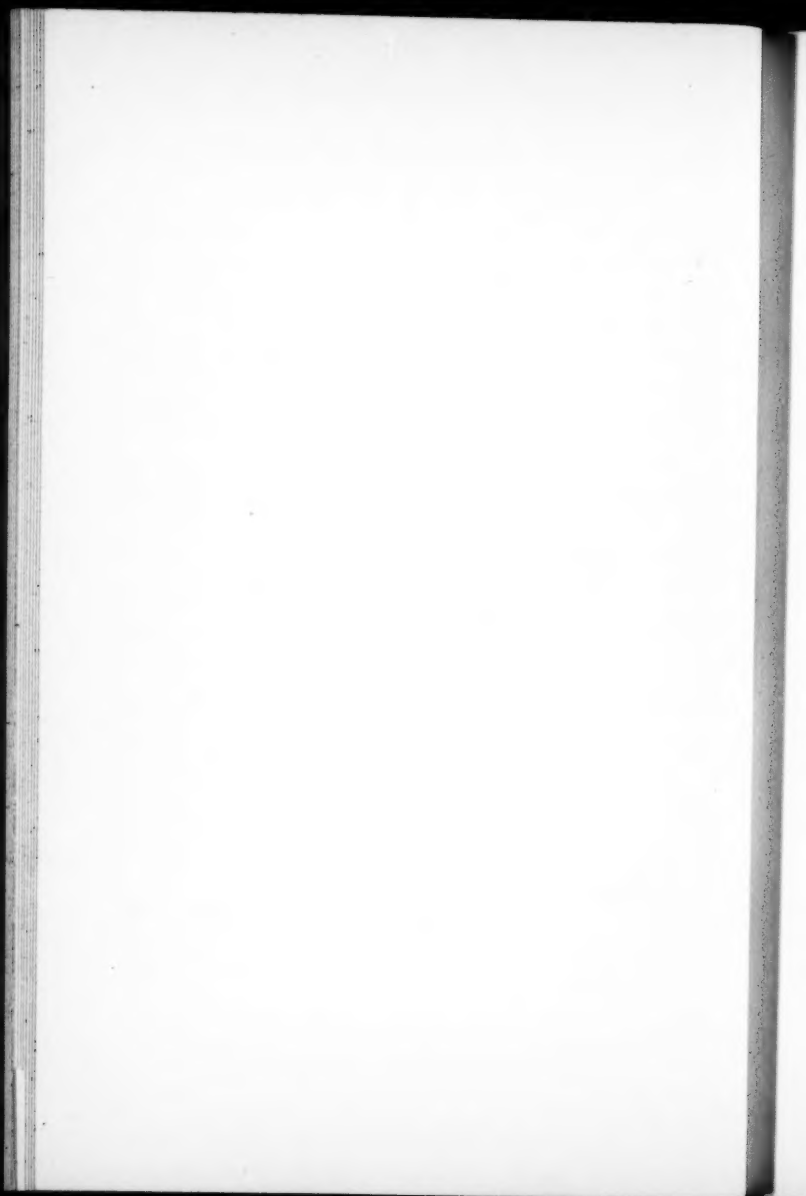
The scheme of Scholarships has been taken up by some representative bodies throughout the country, and it is possible that in this direction some little might be done, not indeed to solve the question, but to relieve the most glaring wants of the present intolerable position. But as things stand at present, where there is no guarantee of permanency, representation, or effective control, the people will never rally whole-heartedly to such a scheme. Still the number of new forces and elements in the field give us hope for the future of the question. The Gaelic League, the Graduates' Association, the Maynooth Union—not to speak of a host of individuals—have each in turn submitted their views on the situation, and suggested the remedies which they thought best. It may be that with the advent of the new Government the prospect of a settlement will be brighter, but at the worst they cannot be darker than under the last Administration.

REV. JAMES MACCAFFREY, S.T.L.

In "Irish Ecclesiastical Record."

Theosophy

ITS DOCTRINES



Theosophy

ITS DOCTRINES.



THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY has never ceased to proclaim by the mouth of its founders and most conspicuous members that it "has nothing to do with any special profession of religious or political faith, and does not require of those who are enrolled in it adhesion to any form of belief." (1) And Mrs. Annie Besant protests that the Theosophical Society "has no dogmas, insists on no religious beliefs, favors no Church, embraces no party, takes no part in any of the quarrels that rend society and embitter social, national and individual life." (2)

These statements, however, are utterly gratuitous, and will not stand the test of facts. Theosophy has in reality a philosophy, an ethics, and a theology of its own. It demands of its followers a complete abdication of certain beliefs, and bids them embrace others, which form in fact the foundation of this new religion, or synthesis of all religions, claiming the name of Theosophy. Were it otherwise, there would be no reason for its existence.

But let us hear how the leaders of the sect speak of their doctrines.

"Theosophy," says the English theosophist, Mr. Beaman, "has three great dogmas: first, the identity of the human spirit with God; secondly, re-incarnation; thirdly,

(1) La Società Teosofica e la Teosofia. Roma, 1900, p. 4.

(2) Annie Besant. *An Introduction to Theosophy*. London, Theosophical Publishing Society, 1894.

Karma, or the law of inexorable justice.”(1) The first theosophical dogma has to do with philosophy and theology; the second has a more particular bearing on philosophy; the third, on ethics. About these three dogmas then, which every good theosophist must blindly embrace, under penalty of exclusion from the society, are grouped other doctrines, which serve as a prop to the former, and present them in stronger light to the mind of the novice in the science of Theosophy.

Theosophy, then, has a doctrine quite its own with regard to man, to God, the world, life, the moral law, time and eternity, whence we are warranted in concluding that it is a religion founded, like all others, on a system of philosophical, religious, and ethical doctrines.

Concerning man Theosophy teaches that he is not a compound of two parts, body and soul, as the educated and uneducated alike have always hitherto believed, but, borrowing its theories partly from Plato, partly from the Neo-Platonists, the ancient Egyptians, and the modern Hindu Vedantins, it sees in man seven distinct principles—three of them eternal, four temporal—which, in the nomenclature of Indian psychology, it calls respectively by the Sanscrit names, *Atma*, *Buddhi*, *Manas*, *Kama Rupa*, *Linga Sharira*, *Prana*, and *Rupa*.

Atma is the spirit; *Buddhi*, the spiritual soul; *Manas*, mind or intelligence. These three human elements are eternal. *Kama Rupa* is the animal spirit, the seat of the animal passions; *Linga Sharira* is the astral body; *Prana* is life or the vital principle, and, finally, *Rupa* is the physical body. These four elements perish at the moment of death.

The astral body is, according to theosophists, that finer

(1) Mr. Beaman, in *East and West* for March, 1903.

matter which in man serves as a bridge between the physical body and the soul, and binds the material to the spiritual. The matter of the astral body, by reason of its subtlety, is imperceptible to the senses of the generality of men and exempt from the laws which govern ordinary matter. The Spirit is a direct emanation from the Great Spirit, the Great Reality, the One, the Unconscious, the Eternal, the Infinite; and the Spiritual Soul is the medium of communication between the Spirit and the mind or intelligence.

The four temporal or corruptible principles in man concur as elements in the formation of his *personality*, whereas the three eternal elements are essential constituents of his *individuality*.

Death separates the corruptible principles, disuniting them from one another, and they are lost amid the cosmic elements and perish. Oftentimes, however, the animal spirit or *Kama Rupa* continues to exist by itself after death, as a subtle, disembodied shade, capable under certain conditions of communicating with the living, of making itself visible to their senses, nay, of taking possession of their minds and bodies, swaying them at will, and doing with them whatever it chooses.

Of the three eternal principles, none is destroyed, but, after a certain period, they become once more incarnate, entering thus on a second term of probation, before attaining everlasting repose, in *Nirvana*, or identity with the Great One, the Great Unconscious Reality of the Universe. I say after a certain period, because re-incarnation does not occur immediately after death. There is an interval of repose, called by theosophists *Devachan*, during which man's higher part is temporarily united to the Great Reality, for the purpose of refresh-

ing itself and regaining its strength, before being put to the test of a second incarnation.

Such in brief is the psychology of the theosophists, as expounded by Miss Besant in her numerous writings,(1) by Leadbeater,(2) by Madame Blavatski,(3) by Sinnet,(4) by Father Clarke, S.J.,(5) by Father Ernest Hull, S.J.,(6) and many others, both favorable and unfavorable to Theosophism.

There may, perhaps, be some among my readers who would wish to know what arguments the theosophists adduce in support of their fantastic system of psychology. I regret to be obliged to say it, but it is impossible for me to satisfy their legitimate desire. For of arguments, whether sound or in any way approaching a proof, theosophists offer none. They assert that man is composed of the seven aforesaid elements, and, without further ado, you must take their word for it. Whoever will not blindly accept their gratuitous assertions has not as yet penetrated the hidden secrets of the *Gupta Vidya*, and is not qualified for membership in the Theosophical Society. Some theosophist writers, it is true, more learned or more erudite than the rest, refer the reader to a study of the works of Plato and Plotinus, of the Jewish Cabbala and the Indian Samkhya or Vedanta philosophy, where, if you will believe them, the above di-

(1) Annie Besant. *The Seven Principles of Man*. London, 7 Duke Street, Adelphi, W. C., 1894.

(2) C. W. Leadbeater. *The Soul and its Vestures*. London, 1892.

(3) H. P. Blavatski. *The Secret Doctrine*. 1890.

(4) A. P. Sinnet. *The Constitution of the Ego*. London, 1894.

(5) Rev. R. F. Clarke, S.J. *Theosophy; its Teachings, Marvels, and True Character*. London, S. E., 18 West Square, pp. 20-25.

(6) Rev. Ernest Hull, S.J. *Studies in Theosophy*. Printed at Examiner Press, Bombay, India.

vision of man into seven elements is abundantly established.

That Plato in the *Phaedo* and elsewhere does indeed speak of man as composed of more than two parts is undeniable; as it is likewise undeniable that the ancient Egyptian, Chinese, Indian, and Chaldee philosophers, the Hermetic books, the Neo-Pythagoreans and the Neo-Platonists admitted in man as many as three, four, six, or seven elements. But as for really conclusive proofs, the painstaking student would look in vain. Nor would it be a whit more profitable to search for them in the voluminous writings of the modern Hindu Vedantins. The *δχήματα* or ethereal bodies of the ancients, to mention a particular instance, were invented by their authors, because of their inability to conceive how the soul, when separated from the body, could either act or move, without something to serve as a *vehicle*—an idea which found equal favor with philosophers, like Pythagoras and Plato, and with poets, such as Homer and Virgil, or later still with Dante. But of genuine and conclusive proofs, even among the ancients, there is not a trace.

The same must be said of the theosophists. In fact, they lay but little stress on psychology, considered absolutely and for its own sake. Rather are they concerned to destroy the unity and harmony of the human compound for theological motives, that is, in order to establish the re-incarnation of souls, to deny the existence of a personal God, to identify the creature with the Creator, to do away practically with the freedom of the will, to reject the possibility of repentance and consequently of pardon for sin, and to explain certain phenomena of spiritism and occultism, which the Catholic Church attributes to malignant preternatural forces, but which theosophists ascribe instead to yet hidden forces of the human spirit;

in a word, their object is to overturn from top to bottom the whole doctrinal structure of Christianity. Hence, mark it well, though many, and perhaps the majority of theosophists, are not aware of the tendency of their doctrines, it is nevertheless certain that the theosophist movement, taken in itself, leads directly to a denial of the divinity of Christ, to pantheism, and finally to atheism.

From the theosophist doctrine touching man, we shall now pass to the teaching of the sect concerning God. "Theosophy," writes Mrs. Besant, "supposes the existence of an eternal Principle known only by its effects. Words cannot describe it, since words imply generic and specific differences, and that *Principle is all*. We mutter with bated breath the name of Absolute, Infinite, Unconditioned, but words are unequal to the task. The ancient wise men called it *Sat* or *Benen*, neither *Being*, nor *Existence*. Only when that Principle becomes manifest, can it be described in language, since the appearance of the Manifest implies the Non-manifest; for the Manifest is transient and mutable, and there must be something which lasts forever. Otherwise, whence came the existences that surround us? . . . The universe is, in Theosophy, the manifestation of one of the aspects of *Sat* (Being). In it there succeed one another, periods of activity and periods of repose, periods of manifestation and periods of absorption, the exhalation and inhalation of the *Great Breath*, to use the noble metaphor of the Orient. Exhalation posits the worlds outside of *Sat*; inhalation terminates the periods of activity. The *radical substance* of all things differentiates itself into spirit-matter, of which the whole universe, visible and invisible, consists, and evolves itself into seven states or modes of being, each denser than the preceding. The

substance is the same in all; it only differs in the degree of density. Thus the chemist holds in his flask invisible water: he may condense it so slightly as to cause it to resemble a light mist; or he may condense it more forcibly into steam; or he may render it denser still until it becomes liquid; or, lastly, he may make it solid as ice. Yet it is always the same substance. Only its condition has changed. By this fact we may illustrate our conception of the past evolution of the universe. Thus, from a theosophical point of view, *spirit and matter are essentially one and the same thing*, and the universe is a living whole, from centre to circumference, every single particle of it being endowed with life." . . . (1)

And elsewhere: "Theosophy regards the Universe as a transitory manifestation of Eternal Existence, the summer-day flower of an eternal unknown Root. That Root is the One Reality, the only Permanent among the myriad and fleeting phenomena which surround us on every hand, and among which we ourselves are numbered. From that Unity proceeds all diversity; into that Unity all diversity again returns. . . . It, the infinite and eternal Cause . . . is the rootless root of 'all that was, is, or ever shall be.'" (2)

These notions concerning God, as set forth by Mrs. Besant, are the official beliefs of the sect, and are held with a greater or less degree of clearness by all theosophists. In their view, then, God is all, and all is God. In God there is neither personality, nor mind, nor any other attribute. Theosophy explicitly rejects the personality of God, and with it all those perfections and

(1) Annie Besant. *A Rough Outline of Theosophy*. London, 7 Duke Street, Adelphi, W. C., pp. 6-7.

(2) Annie Besant. *Theosophy and its Evidences*. London, 1904.

attributes, which are possible only to a personal being. Its concept of God is that of the Samkhya and Vedanta philosophy of India; that is to say, it conceives Him as an intellectual abstraction, a sort of *ens rationis* or prime matter, being at once and not being, actual existence and eternal potency. The God of theosophists is nothing in himself, but becomes all in all things, in which he acquires being, generic nature, specific differentiation, individuality, personality, and every other attribute, material, spiritual, and even divine.(1)

This theosophical concept of the divine nature, as is plain, is pure pantheism, formally opposed to the Christian concept of God, and utterly at variance with reason, which, even unaided by revelation, can attain to a knowledge of the real distinction which exists between God and all other things, or rather of the infinite gulf that separates Him from all that is not Himself. Again then, on this point, Theosophy is irreconcilable with Christianity.

From what has been thus far said, it is plain to what purpose and in what sense Theosophy proclaims its dogma of the identity of the human spirit with God. If everything is God or on its way to become God, it stands to reason that the human spirit is also God, or in process of becoming God. From which Theosophy, with sovereign audacity, infers that Jesus Christ is likewise God, in the same sense in which we are God, neither more nor less. In denying the divine personality, Theosophy is constrained to deny the divine paternity as well, and hence for it the *Logos* begotten of the Father, the inner

(1) Cfr. Rev. R. F. Clarke, S.J. *Theosophy*, pp. 66-68. Rev. Ernest Hull, *Studies in Theosophy*, p. 37.

word of God, is in reality but a symbol, a myth, an expression void of meaning. True, theosophists are forever discoursing of *logoi*, of the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man, founded on that fatherhood. But they attach to the words a sense quite different from that of Christians.

Here is how Mrs. Besant speaks of God and of Jesus Christ: "Intimately connected with the idea of a personal God, is the view which Christians take of Jesus Christ, making him the Incarnate Son of God. 'What think ye of Christ?' That is the question Christian lips are forever putting us. 'Do you perhaps deny the divinity of Christ?' Our reply is clear and direct. We do not deny the divinity of Christ; we affirm the divinity of every son of man. Every universal religion has its incarnations, its Word-made flesh. At all times was this incarnation called Christ, the Anointed, and after this ideal Man sighed the hearts of men, rightly thinking, as though by instinct, that He is the promise of the hereafter, and that what He is now, they shall all be at some future day. And if we would know what difference there is between the Christ of the Christians and the Christ of the theosophists, we must compare the concept of Christ with the concept of humanity, considered as one whole, and of which we form part. The faith then of popular and ecclesiastical Christianity, a faith which is now rapidly perishing, teaches that the human race is essentially vitiated, cursed in its fall by an angry God, and from thenceforward living under the wrath of God. To the end that some at least of that cursed race may be saved, God becomes man, and by suffering in place of man, ransoms him from the consequences of his sin. Some of the human race are saved in virtue of so great a sacrifice, and the justice of the Redeemer is imputed

to the redeemed. Man, of himself and by nature incapable of good, is rendered strong by the grace of the Saviour, without which he can do nothing unto salvation. This is the esoteric Christian creed professed in the past by all Christians, and still believed to-day by the great majority of the same.

On the other hand, the concept which Theosophy has formed of this mystery is the very opposite. It regards man as essentially divine. But the divine within him is covered up, overlaid, and debased by a coarse stratum of matter. The divine essence in man is the Buddha, the Christ, the *light that enlightened every man that cometh into this world*. Athwart the stratum of matter the light shines feebly, but even in the basest and vilest of men there is from time to time some ray of light. Every man is a Christ in potency, and it is the function of human progress to render actual the potential Christ. Man's strength grows through the divine that is in him. This is an essential quality, not an external gift. In it is light. To it does it belong to render his lower nature transparent, and to cause it to shine resplendent."(1) And Mr. P. W. Kingsland, another eminent English theosophist, says: "We do not deny, nor destroy the Christian faith. There is no reason for demolishing the ideal so dear to so many Christians. They may continue as before to love and venerate the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth. Rather, this love and reverence become greater and stronger, the moment we understand the *true nature* of his humanity. Jesus Christ is at once human and divine, because we are so."(2)

(1) Annie Besant. *Theosophy and Christianity*. London, 1903, Theosophical Publishing Society, 7 Duke Street, Adelphi, W. C., pp. 9-10.

(2) P. W. Kingsland. *The Esoteric Basis of Christianity*. London, 1890, pp. 34-35.

Any good Christian, however imperfectly acquainted with his catechism, could refute the absurdities and blasphemies contained in these two passages. He could, in reply to Mrs. Besant, deny the existence of an esoteric Christianity, which she affirms, but does not prove. He might also justly challenge the statement that every universal religion has its incarnation, and could cite as an instance Mahometanism, which acknowledges none. He would inform the learned English woman that the fall and degradation of the human race is not only taught by faith and revelation, but is found in the traditions of all nations, and must be supposed by whoever would give a clear and satisfactory explanation of sin. He would ask her further, how she proves her marvelous and utterly fanciful and gratuitous assertion that man is God, despite the fact that, to sound reason and common sense, he too often appears more akin to the material and animal world than to the wisdom and goodness of God. Finally, he would, in rebuttal, bring forward solid arguments, to prove the distinction between the natural and the supernatural order, which she audaciously denies; the Redemption, which she does not admit; vicarious atonement, which she brushes aside, and grace, which she disingenuously confounds with nature. This is a reply which any good Christian could make, and *a fortiori* any seminarian of first year's theology. But to what purpose? The theosophist studies in the school of Plato, of Plotinus, of Porphyrius, and the Indian and pagan philosophers, and does not heed the divine word spoken by Christ and delivered to us by the mouth of His infallible Church.

Here again, then, as elsewhere, the inference forces itself upon us that Theosophism, denying, as it does, explicitly the divinity of Christ, is incompatible with Christianity.

The second dogma of Theosophism is that of re-incarnation. Theosophists, in support of this teaching, commonly adduce two sophisms: first, the almost universal belief of antiquity in the transmigration of souls, and *consequently* in their re-incarnation; and secondly, the facility this doctrine of re-incarnation affords for the explanation of the great problem of the existence on earth of physical and moral evil.

The first argument is of little weight, seeing how many other things were believed by antiquity, and yet have since been shown to be evidently false. To give an example, none of the ancients ever doubted that the sun revolved about the earth, which was subsequently shown to be at variance with the truth. As for the second argument, we must allow that, at first sight, re-incarnation does offer at least an apparent explanation of the difficult problem of the uneven distribution of good and evil in the world.

Take, for instance, this example. At one and the same moment, in the same circumstances of time and place, two babes are born in two different families. One is born in affluence, in a palace, amid the affectionate attentions of his kindred, with honors, a crown, a throne awaiting him; the other in a hut, an heir to hunger, and fatigue, and to an obscure and lowly life. Why this difference? The explanation is simple, says the theosophist. The present condition of the two babes is the exact mathematical counterpart of their conduct in a previous existence. The child that is born in the palace is recompensed for the virtues practised, while the child that is born in the cabin is punished for the sins committed during his former life. The solution is apparently one of marvelous simplicity; but is it by the very fact the true one?

We have neither time nor space to devote to the refutation of a belief which among us Europeans has few or no adherents, at least who seriously profess it. Nevertheless it will not be amiss to hint at the arguments, which completely upset the theory of the transmigration of souls and their consequent re-incarnation :

(1) Re-incarnation is a mere hypothesis, in no way harmonizing with the reality of known facts, whether regarding the present or the future life.

(2) The so-called spiritualistic re-incarnations are either deceptions of clever mountebanks, or, if real, are but passing manifestations from the other world, to be ascribed, in all likelihood, to malignant, preternatural agencies.

(3) No one has any recollection of having lived a life anterior to this, during which, as theosophists declare, we should have merited our present guilty or prosperous condition.

(4) Re-incarnation affords only an apparent explanation of the inequalities of human life, applicable only in some particular cases. In most others it offers no explanation whatever.

(5) Re-incarnation, instead of being a spur to virtue, and a check to vice, does away, on the contrary, with every incentive to the former, removes all restraint from the latter, and sanctions the very worst moral disorders.

(6) Re-incarnation leads logically to a denial of free will, strips man of all moral responsibility, and instead of contributing to the improvement of society, tends to degrade it.

In all this, as is evident, the teachings of theosophy are once more in contradiction with the profession of Christianity.

The third dogma of Theosophy is that of *Karma* or the law of *inexorable justice*.

By *Karma* theosophists understand, as do the philosophers of India, that divine attribute, or better, that fatal law of the universe, whereby "every man reaps what he has sown." This idea of retributive justice is not peculiar to the Indian philosophers, or to the theosophists, their disciples. St. Paul proclaimed it when he said: "What things a man shall sow, those also shall he reap,"(1) and it has found expression in hundreds of other places of Holy Scripture. Indeed, we Christians hold as at once a matter of faith and a conclusion of sound reason that every act of our present life, even the glass of cold water given to our neighbor in God's name, or churlishly refused, will weigh in the balance of eternal life, either to our reward, or to our condemnation.

But between Christianity and Theosophy there is this essential difference touching the law of retributive justice. Christianity teaches that the time wherein to *sow* is restricted to the present life, beyond which begins the period of retribution, the period of reward, or everlasting condemnation. Theosophy, on the contrary, prolongs indefinitely the time of probation, and teaches that the present life is but a link in a lengthy chain, a step in a journey of almost infinite duration. It is true that a false step entails the bitterest consequences; nevertheless, in the system of the theosophists, the traveler is always free to turn back, not only in the present life, but also in all other succeeding lives.

Furthermore, Christianity teaches that a sincere supernatural repentance wipes away the moral taint of sin, and thereby severs the fatal chain of moral consequences,

(1) Gal. VI, 8.

necessarily and inevitably resulting from sin. Theosophy, on the other hand, holds as though evident that no force, whether natural or supernatural, can break the fatal chain of sin. In this system, there is no possibility of atonement, whether personal or vicarious. Sin necessarily entails certain consequences, which in turn give rise to others at once necessary and inevitable. There is neither man on earth, nor deity in heaven, that can efface a moral fault, undo a sin, wash away a stain from the soul, or grant pardon for a single transgression. Hence in the theosophist system, there is no redemption; there is no repentance; there is no mercy; there is neither Christ, nor God. There is only retributive justice; blind, mechanical justice; physiological, psychological, animal, material justice. And this justice is the *Karma* of Indian sages, the great ethical principle of Theosophy.

It were idle to refute such gross errors. The reader will do so for himself. We may conclude then once more that Theosophy, from this point of view no less than from the preceding, is utterly at variance with Christianity.(1)

From this rapid review of the teachings of Theosophy, we may now draw certain consequences, some speculative, others practical. First of all then, we may assert that Theosophy is absolutely irreconcilable not only with Catholic faith, but with any form of Christianity, nay, with any religion that rises above mere pantheism. For Jew or Musulman, no less than for Protestant or Catholic, it is quite impossible to combine the profession of his religion with membership in the Theosophical Society. For in denying the personality of God, and

(1) Cfr. Rev. Ernest Hull, S.J. *Studies in Theosophy*, pp. 95-99; Rev. R. F. Clarke, S.J. *Theosophy*, pp. 23-24.

the existence of a supernatural order, Theosophy implicitly denies all the dogmas on which those religions, quite as much as Christianity, are based.

Theosophy, in a word, is a return to paganism, to certain forms of gnosticism; in part, too, to Hinduism, and above all to Buddhism. Theosophy tends to Buddhism, not as preached three or four centuries before Christ by Buddha and his immediate disciples, but as held and practised to-day in the island of Ceylon, in Burmah, and in certain parts of China and Japan. Hence the admiration all theosophists have for Buddhism and the religions of Asia. Hence, too, their constant study of the sacred books of India, the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gitâ, the various Hindu Yoga Sûtras, and the many Mahâyâna and Vinaya Buddhist texts. Hence, too, the evident partiality which Colonel Olcott, President for life of the Theosophical Society, has ever shown for the Buddhists of Ceylon, the declared enemies of all Christians, and especially of the Catholics, so numerous in that island. This he has evinced in a practical way by the publication of a Buddhist catechism, the foundation of numerous Buddhist schools in southern India, and the conversion to Buddhism—so at least the Colonel claims—of thousands of *Paryas* of the Presidency of Madras.

Finally, it is well not to forget the general tendency of the whole Theosophical Society to Buddhism, a tendency which gave occasion, even recently, to serious dissensions within the ranks of the Society itself in France, England and the United States, and to some extent also in Italy.

To come now to the practical consequences, it follows logically from the above exposition that no Catholic may for any consideration lend his name or his support to the Theosophical Society. It is not really, as it claims

to be, a society for purposes of culture, or for the advancement of the universal brotherhood of man. It is a philosophy, a theology, a religion, hostile to Christianity and to Christ. As there can be no agreement between Christ and Belial, so can there be none between Christianity and Theosophy.

This reminder is all the more necessary for the reader, as the sect of theosophists has made considerable progress in Italy, especially in Rome, Bologna, and other cities, and there are to be found ladies and gentlemen, chiefly of the higher classes, who, while professing to remain loyal Catholics, make no scruple of giving their names to the Theosophical Society, frequenting its meetings, reading its writings, and extending it widely among their friends and acquaintances. They forget that the same Colonel Olcott is the advocate of "psychical researches, somnambulism, mesmerism (now known as hypnotism), psychometry, thought transference, clairvoyance, and other phenomena heretofore vulgarly comprised under the name of occultism," claiming that they "are the new and vulgarly vigorous branches of a science of the soul, which is in process of formation in the laboratories and most influential schools, and which is opening up to our researches new and ever vaster horizons." (1) So that at the theosophical séances attention is also paid to the practices of occultism, condemned alike by the Church and by natural philosophy.

Those good people must be classed either as deceived or as deceivers. In either case they have gone astray; they are on the way to perdition, and are in proximate danger of losing their faith, and of wilfully cutting themselves off from the fount of eternal life.

(1) *La Società Teosofica e la Teosofia*. Roma, 1900, p. 6.

If those misguided beings studied a little more deeply the religion in which they were born, they would perceive that in it they possess all that they seek in Theosophy, abundantly and superabundantly. They would discover in it the pure gold of the truth, without mixture of any suspicious alloy; the true love of God, without risk of being betrayed into the false asceticism or *Yoga* taught by Theosophy; and lastly they would find there the sweet unction of the grace of Christ, which would facilitate for them the observance of the divine command, and render certain the attainment of life everlasting. For here, too, the old adage undoubtedly holds: *Education, nigh salvation.* (1)

(1) *Uomo avvisato, mezzo salvato.*



Cremation



THE Society for the Propagation of Cremation, which, since March 31, 1894, has taken the name of Society for the Propagation of Incineration, has recently entered upon its twenty-fifth year. We propose to study, according to its official organ, the result of its efforts and propaganda.

The Municipal Council of Paris even in 1879 "instituted scientific inquiries as to the most convenient and least expensive method of cremation,"; 1880 saw the formation of the "Society for Cremation," and in 1885 it was decided by vote to build, at the East Cemetery (Cimetière de l'Est), a crematory wherein to burn the bodies which had been used in the hospitals for anatomical studies. Parliament adopted in 1886 a project of laws relative to what was termed "the freedom of burials" (*le liberté des funérailles*), and the word *incineration* was inscribed for the first time in French legislation.

Under this revival of paganism it would be easy to detect the influence of Free Masonry ("Review of Italian Masonry," June 1, 1874), which recognizes in it another weapon against the ideas and practices of Catholicism. An outspoken Englishman, Sir Henry Thompson, said with a realism that outstrips anything one might imagine: "England needs to draw from the soil she cultivates a *sumum* of production, which requires constantly renewed fertilizers. The quantity of

bones of animals imported from foreign countries for this purpose is very large; it now attains the figure of 800,000 pounds yearly, which represents a vast capital. Considering the number of deaths in the city of London, it would be possible to gather there, by means of crematory appliances, 200,000 pounds of human bones annually wherewith to enrich the soil. It would be a considerable reduction of the capital exported." From calculations of this sort, one's soul, be it Catholic or not, will always turn with horror. So, indeed, cremation found at first but few adherents. Yet the society founded in 1880 was recognized as of public utility under the ministry of M. Méline by a decree dated October 12, 1897, and signed by M. Félix Faure, President of the republic, and by M. Louis Barthou, Minister of the Interior.(1)

It held its twenty-fourth general assembly 21st May, 1905, under the presidency of Dr. Bourneville. The account of this meeting has just appeared in the society's *Bulletin*; we give it here.

Mr. George Solomon presents the first report:

"This year our Society will have existed twenty-five years. At the time of its foundation, in 1880, some hundred incinerations had taken place in the crematories of Milan, Lodi and Gotha, which were successively inaugurated in 1876, 1877 and 1878. We were then at the experimental stage. At this time, what advances to note!

(1) The committee is thus composed: President, Dr. Bourneville, some time Deputy for the Seine, 14, rue des Carmes, Paris; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Frederick Passy, member of the Institute, President of the Society of Political Economy, 8, rue Labordère, Neuilly (Seine); Charles Lefebvre, some time Deputy, 21, rue du Mont. Thabor, Paris; General Secretary, M. George Salomon, civil engineer of the mines, 112 bis, boulevard Malesherbes, Paris.

There exist, in Europe and America, 90 crematories, some of them very handsome, and the number of incinerations is above 125,000. On every hand an ardent propaganda is carried on. According to an investigation opened by the Vienna Society for Cremation, *Die Flamme*, there existed in Europe last September 127 societies for cremation, of which 76 were in Germany; some, like ours, doing a work of propaganda and solidarity, others erecting crematories and practising incineration.

"It is France which has torn from the earth, from putrefaction, the most of human flesh, embryos, corpses entire or mutilated in the hospital dissecting rooms; 73,330 incinerations have been effected at Perè-Lachaise, between the month of August, 1889, and the end of 1904.

"The remaining incinerations are to be divided between the United States, possessing 29 monuments, Great Britain, which has 12, Italy 30, Germany 9, Switzerland 4, Sweden 2, Denmark, Canada, the Argentine Republic, Australia, one each. Let us not number here the appliances of Tokio, let us not speak of the pyres raised in the Indies, in China, in Siam, in Cambogia, at all points of the Asiatic continent: from time immemorial Asia has burnt her dead. Thousands of soldiers were incinerated by the Japanese on the battlefields of Manchuria; their ashes, piously collected, were afterwards returned in cases to their native land.

"In Europe, Germany counts the greatest number of adherents of incineration. Last year 9 establishments were in existence, erected successively at Gotha, Heidelberg, Hamburg, Tena, Offenbach, Mannheim, Eisenach, Mayence and Karlsruhe. Before long Bremen is to raise a tenth, the cost of which, estimated at 105,000 marks, 80,000 of which are furnished by the Bremen Society

and the rest by the Senate. The number of incinerations in Germany does not cease to grow; it increased from 1,074 in 1903 to 1,381 in 1904. In this number figured 1,050 Protestants, 142 Catholics and 106 Jews. The greater part of these incinerations were accompanied by religious ceremonies.

"If Prussia continues refractory, in spite of the efforts of the Berlin Society, which had succeeded in getting the municipalities of 116 cities, possessing more than 10,000 inhabitants, to support a petition in favor of facultative cremation, addressed to the Diet; Würtemberg, on the contrary, has capitulated; before long Stuttgart is to possess a monument.

"So also the opposition is growing less in Saxony and in Bavaria; at Munich, after lively debates, the Municipal Council adopted a decision tending to the construction of an apparatus at the expense of the city. The 76 societies existing in Germany, their Union, the special journal, *Die Flamme*, which prints as many as 10,000 copies, and the numerous members of the associations exert a vigorous action, which is beginning to bear fruit. The last section of the Berlin organ is entirely devoted to advertisements. There are found notices of general meetings, *financial reports* of the societies for cremation; advertisements of crematories, giving among other things the price of the operation, and that of transportation from the station to the monument. Beneath the announcement for the Hamburg crematory, it is said: *All facilities are furnished the clergy for conducting religious ceremonies inside the monument.* Lastly there are the advertisements of constructors of appliances, or of hoisters, of venders of urns, of transportation companies, also the notice, which will be appreciated by some of our members, of a Life Insurance Company

of Leipsig, setting forth that it has erected a *Mortuary Insurance Fund*, having for object to pay, at the decease of its policy-holders, the sum necessary for their incineration. It would be desirable that some one of the French life insurance companies should open a similar branch, for in the present state of things in Paris a special company would collapse under the general expenses which its national organization would incur. We have, however, already referred to an assurance company in New York, *The Manhattan Cremation and Provident Society*, which manages to accomplish this end. In eleven years' existence, from 1892 to 1903, it has paid the expenses of incineration for 41 of its members, who number in all only 350.

"In Geneva, the *Association La Flamme* (associate group for incineration), created in 1903, already numbers 600 members. This society has for its object to contribute a sum of 200 francs to the incineration of its members, who are required to pay, besides an admission fee of 3 francs, a quarterly fee, which varies according to the needs of the society, and is now fixed at 1 franc.

"The society possesses a quarterly organ, *La Flamme*, the first number of which appeared last January. In 1904, 1,320 francs were devoted to 17 incinerations.

"At Geneva, the same year, 75 incinerations took place, which is the exact total for the two first years of establishment.

"In 1903, the number of incinerations at Bale, Saint-Gall, Zurich and Geneva amounted to 279.

"At Berne, the Society has lately endeavored to collect funds for the erection of a modest monument, valued according to estimate at 65,000 francs.

"In England let us point out some interesting facts: first, the completion of the monument erected in the London cemetery of Little-Ilford, by the corporation of the city of London, and which has cost about 200,000 francs. Thanks to the creation of this municipal crematory, the practice of cremation, possible until now only for the wealthy classes of the capital, in the monuments of Woking and Golder's Green, will not fail to become more general. At the Golder's Green Crematory, the property of the London Society for Cremation, the price of incineration, with section in the Columbarium, is, at the minimum, 250 francs. At Woking, expense of transportation by rail from London added, the cost is considerably higher.

"Let us add to the three crematories which we have mentioned those of Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Hull, Darlington, Leicester, Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds and Sheffield, a total of 13 monuments in full activity, in course of construction or recently inaugurated, and we shall have shown the earnest effort made to endeavor to acclimatize cremation in Great Britain. At the present date 4,409 incinerations have been accomplished there; 569 in 1904. To the already lengthy list of persons of note incinerated in England, we will add the name of the famous philosopher, Herbert Spencer.

"Incineration is likewise practised in Denmark, at Copenhagen, where 47 incinerations took place in 1904. In Sweden, where there were 66 in 1903, 48 took place at Stockholm and 18 at Gotenburg. In the depths of Norway, at Bergen, the municipality have decided upon the erection of an apparatus in the crypt of a chapel situated in the city cemetery.

"Italy, already covered with crematories, possesses a new one in the famous cemetery of Staglieno, at the gates of Genoa. In 1904 the number of incinerations in Italy was 305, to wit: 89 at Milan, 63 in Rome, 32 at Leghorn, 30 at Turin, 26 at Bologna, 18 in Florence, 11 at Pistoia, 8 at Venice, 8 at Pisa, 6 at Udine, and the rest divided between Asti, Brescia, Genoa, Modena and Sienna. At Buenos Ayres, 370 incinerations were practised in 1904. Everywhere the movement is going on."

At the conclusion of this report, Dr. Bourneville pronounced the following discourse:

"We are going to speak to you about *cremation at Paris* in 1904, according to the documents furnished us by M. Rogueplan, Chief of the Bureau of Cemeteries, to whom we esteem it our duty to return thanks for his courtesy.

"In 1904, as during the preceding years, the incinerations at the crematory at Père-Lachaise consisted of 1st, the bodies whose incineration was requested by the families; 2d, the bodies brought from the dissecting rooms in the hospitals, the Practitioners' School of the Faculty of Medicine and the Val de grâce; 3d, the human embryos.

"During the course of 1904 we have had 354 incinerations by request of the families; 2,346 incinerations derived from the hospital sources; 3,964 incinerations of embryos. Total, 6,664.

"Here are the statistics of incinerations since the beginning, 5th August, 1889, up to 31st December, 1904:

Number of Incinerations Effected.

Years.	Incinerations by request of families.	Hospital debris.	Embryos.	Totals.
1889	49	483	217	749
1890	121	2,188	1,079	3,388
1891	134	2,369	1,238	3,741
1892	159	2,389	1,426	3,974
1893	189	2,261	1,461	3,911
1894	216	2,247	1,529	3,992
1895	187	2,482	1,511	4,180
1896	200	2,587	1,636	4,423
1897	210	2,356	1,631	4,197
1898	231	2,493	1,789	4,513
1899	243	2,538	1,773	4,554
1900	297	2,752	2,776	5,825
1901	306	2,664	3,885	6,853
1902	299	2,435	3,976	6,710
1903	306	2,492	3,866	6,654
1905	334	2,346	3,964	6,664
Totals	3,484	37,082	32,757	73,330

"In 1904 the incinerations have continued, being effected by the Fischet-Toisoul and Fradet appliances successively. With regard to *sex*, *age* and *duration*, the incinerations asked for by members of the family are as follows:

AGE	SEX		Duration of Incineration				Average
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Less Than 60 min.	From 1 hour to 1 ho'r & 30 min.	More than 1 hour & 30 min.	
0 to 9 years	3	3	6	6	"	"	42'
10 to 29 years . . .	13	9	22	16	6	"	57'
30 to 59 years . . .	114	27	141	78	63	"	60'
60 years & above . .	125	43	168	89	77	2	63'
Totals	255	82	337	189	146	2	

"Women form, as usual, nearly a third of the total number. The average duration of incinerations, considered at different ages, remains about the same.

"Of the 337 bodies incinerated by wish of the family, 280 come from Paris, 32 from various communes of the Seine, 1 from the Maritime Alps, 2 from the Lower Pyrenées, 1 from Var, 2 from Seine-Inferieure, 1 from Côte-d'Or, 4 from Seine-et-Oise, 2 from Oise, 1 from Eure, 1 from Isère, 1 from Cher, 1 from Marne, 1 from the Landes, 1 from Finistère, 1 from Upper-Marne, 1 from Yonne, 1 from Gironde, 1 from Algeria, 1 from Egypt, 1 from the principality of Monaco and 1 from Switzerland.

"Since our last general assembly, we have had given by our devoted colleagues, Dr. Cornet and M. Mesnard, 8 illustrated lectures. They are here enumerated:

"1st, 26th November, 1904, at Rouen: "Popular University. Co-operation of Ideas"; 2d, 17th December, 1904, Dijon, Town Hall; 3d, 23d December, 1904, Bicêtre, School of Infirmarians and Trained Nurses; 4th, 30th January, 1905, Salpêtrière, School of Trained Nurses; 5th, 11th February, 1905, Government Offices, III^e Ward, Paris; 6th, 10th March, 1905, 157 Faubourg Saint-Antoine, U. P.; 7th, 21st April, 1905, 21, Rue Boyer, U. P., La Semaille; 8th, 16th May, 1905, Lariboisière, School of Infirmarians and Trained Nurses. . . ."

M. George Salomon spoke next in the following terms:

"You will, with us, not esteem it vain to cast a rapid backward glance, to note summarily the result of our efforts. Abroad, the pleas we have presented before international congresses of hygiene have developed the large movement we are now sketching for you.

"Among us, since the foundation of our society, in 1880, we have succeeded with difficulty in modifying the law in spite of the opposition of priests, lawyers, physicians (*médecins légistes*), of governors and retrograde administrators, of indifferent or ignorant communities. In 1887 the law upon the freedom of burials was promulgated; in 1889 followed the ruling of the public administration, prescribing the conditions in which cremation might be practised. But yesterday we won our cause in Parliament by the vote on the law 28th December, 1904, abrogating the laws which conferred on church corporations and on consistories the monopoly of inhumations. Since 1881, our devoted and ever-zealous vice-president, M. Charles Lefebvre, had placed before the Chamber of Deputies the project which has culminated in this law. . . .

"While we fought for the law, we endeavored to modify the customs and, in twenty-five years, we have seen three crematory monuments erected in France and, in Paris, 73,330 incinerations take place. This number will rapidly increase; the movement will spread to the provinces as soon as the monument at Père-Lachaise, which has been in process of construction for the past twenty years, shall be completed. Last December the Municipal Council voted a fresh sum of 80,000 francs, mainly to be devoted to the work of interior furnishings: 37,000 francs for the fittings and heating apparatus, and 20,000 for the electric light plant. This is the sign of a speedy completion. . . .

"One of the two crematory apparatus at Père-Lachaise has been completely made over, after two years' use, and at an expense of 16,010 francs. In Germany the same system of apparatus, giving entire satisfaction, is considerably cheaper; the Schneider apparatus, the most

in vogue, costing from 10,000 to 11,000 francs, and that of Klingenssternia only from 8,000 to 9,000.

"The savings which it would have been easy to realize at Père-Lachaise, would have permitted at Montparnasse the erection of a monument which we have still to beg for in favor of the population of the left bank. One crematory in Paris is not enough.

"On the eve of the completion at Père-Lachaise, let us once more request the administration to practise incineration in any but the present manner. Incineration requires an appropriate ceremonial wholly superfluous for inhumation. Silence and the most perfect order should be assured by means of employees or guards in uniform within the public hall; admittance to the apparatus is to be absolutely forbidden. Nothing, within or without, should disclose the operation which is going on. How many times already have we made these remarks! We only repeat them now because we are constrained to it. Constantly, and quite recently again at the incineration of a public man, the attendance invaded the hall of incineration, and, on the morrow, grotesque articles on the horrors of incineration appeared in several papers."

We interrupt the report to show that these horrors are not imaginary: M. Henry Lavedan, the sceptic, thus gave an account of his impressions, after a cremation séance at the Milan cemetery:

" . . . A procession, composed of some dozen persons behind a coffin, which four employees of the *pompe funebre* were pushing upon a little cart, had appeared from one of the avenues. My interpreter pointed out the modest funeral and, with a small, sympathetic smile, said: 'Here is the cremation. Let us follow, signor.' Hastening my steps, I found myself mingling in the

small group of the relatives and friends of the deceased. Those who accompanied him (I cannot say to his last dwelling, but to the place of his combustion) gave no sign of sadness; they seemed rather to be accomplishing some long, tedious and dismal formality. I immediately experienced a secret pity for that poor, inanimate body, to which only two hours of existence remained, and which, before the end of this radiant morning, was going to escape, a thin column of blue smoke (to go whither?), by the high brick chimney of the temple from which we were now only a few steps distant.

"Suddenly a door was opened with a joyous rattle of lock and hinges, and the coffin entered, still pushed on the cart which had brought it hither. It was rolled into a corner of the hall, forming a sort of alcove, and curtains of cheap black, unfolding from the ceiling, hid it momentarily from our gaze.

"The 'temple guard' was reciting his lesson. 'The combustion lasts, more or less, one hour and a half,' he was just saying. 'Rapidity, cleanliness. Two good things. No odor. If the deceased died of contagious sickness he is burnt with his coffin—if not contagious, with the face uncovered. So this one'—and with his great outstretched arm he pointed at the dead behind the curtains—'this one is not contagious. So you can see him with his face uncovered.'

"To tell the truth, the prospect only half pleased me. I endured his sinister gabble without wincing.

"'The cremation,' he continued, 'costs 50 francs. But for those who cannot afford it, for the poor, we do it free.'

"While slowly articulating the latter sentence, he cast a severe glance at the family, meaning clearly: 'Hey, there! it is for you I am speaking. Don't forget it!'

Some of them lowered their heads. Only at that moment did I understand the *sans-gêne* with which the ceremony was being carried out. No doubt the worthy man would not have been so at his ease with the coffin of a rich person.

"He added, big with pride, turning again to me: 'See the fire now!' And with his finger-tip he uncovered a small, circular aperture, opened in the centre of a square iron plate. I placed my eye to it and indeed saw the fire, the terrible and impatient fire vomited from four black pipes. These gargoyles spat out flames round as logs, sticks of flame, if I may use the expression, which shot in a straight line to the centre of the kiln, and only at the end of their effort, ceased to present this appearance of sticks of fire to blossom into sheaves of gold and red, of almost supernatural effulgence.

"When I could tear myself from the fascinating spectacle of the furnace, regulated as exactly as a machine, the guard having made me a sign, I followed. The room to which he led me was small and had, for all furniture, two wooden show-cases attached to the wall. In one of them were arranged several jars like those in which distillers put up brandy-cherries, and full of small pieces of pumice stone. The man took three of these jars and removed the large flat stoppers. Plunging his hand into the first, he drew from it a pebble which he stuck under my nose, saying, 'Man of forty years.' Doing the same for the second, he said, 'Lady of quality!' and for the third he said 'Bambino!' after which, he gravely replaced the three vessels on their shelf. As to the second glass-case, it contained the instruments, that is, several trowels of different shape, and two little brooms of white horsehair to gather the ashes,

and then the pincers for the bone-fragments, absolutely similar to asparagus tongs.

"The visit to this room once over, we returned to the common hall, where the family continued to observe the same calm and the same indifference. The guard, however, had disappeared behind the curtains; we heard him giving brief orders; then he came out again and said, wiping his hands on his apron: 'This time, it's for good.' Everybody rose. My heart was beating very fast and my shirt-collar seemed to choke me.

"Behind the curtains, which a light wind, blowing we knew not whence, set slightly in motion, I could see the bearers bending over the open coffin from which they were preparing to draw the corpse, that corpse I was about to see pass by with its face uncovered, according to the promise made me. There was a sound of wood being bumped, a scraping of soles on the pavement, a voice recommending 'Piano, piano.' . . . At length the curtains, violently drawn, reascended, took their black flight at one stroke towards the ceiling, and lying full length on the sheet-iron slab of a hand-wagon, pushed by the assistants, the dead man, gliding towards us, reappeared in broad daylight. I do not quite recollect if he was dressed in his clothes or wrapped in a shroud. I only saw his pale profile and his bluish waxen nose. He was not more than forty years old, and I was struck with the resignation with which he allowed himself to be handled, for the whole scene was so wanting in the respect and care which it is customary to bestow on the commonest dead, that I had trouble to realize it as anything but a trial, a rehearsal 'just to see.'

"It seemed to me that none of it 'was serious,' that the corpse would presently sit up on the hand-wagon crying out: 'My dear children, the joke has lasted too

long ; let us have done with it.' But no. He was brought, carted, always 'piano,' before the trap, and I waited feverishly, as one awaits the end of a nightmare, the moment in which he would at length disappear and be engulfed in the flames which clamored for him, when the guard, stopping all by a sign, brought my anguish to a climax by deeming it necessary to supply me with further particulars! 'The most curious of all' (this time he expressed himself with a certain administrative gravity) 'is the instant in which the body is received by the fire. . . . Then . . . the arms, the legs, the feet, the hands, . . . everything goes at once, it lives! It lives, sir, I tell you it lives!'

"I broke in brutally, I was suffocating: 'Very well, don't speak to me again!' He looked at me with an air of surprise and turned to the four employees, who were getting ready; then he raised his hand and, as he worked the shutter, the assistants, giving vent under their breath to a little farewell 'hop!' shot the deceased into the middle of the furnace, the blaze of which for a second lit up the whole place. But the shutter had scarcely fallen when the guard threw me against the wall, and, by force almost, applied my eye to the little aperture, while he exclaimed amid cries of triumph: 'Did I lie, sir? Have I boasted?'

"He had not boasted, no, the dead lived . . . but what a life! Certainly it was the most poignant impression of horror I ever experienced, and such that I would not even attempt to try to render it. At the mere recollection of that body twisting, of those arms beating the air, asking mercy, of those fingers contracted and twisting like wood-shavings, of those black legs which were convulsed, and had caught fire like torches (one

moment I thought I heard him howl), shudders ran through me, cold sweat was on my brow, and, looking back to it, I am sorry for and pity the torture of that unknown dead man whose flesh I heard cry out and protest.

"I fled without awaiting the end, after having thrown the guard (I was about to write the executioner) the piece of silver he had so well earned. . . ."

After having completed the report of M. Salomon, let us give his last "argument" and his conclusion:

"In the newspaper, *Le Journal*, a writer of note, M. Jacques Dhur, is showing at the present time, with statistics to prove it, that our race is growing feeble and degenerate; that weak men engender beings even weaker; tuberculosis, neurasthenia, influenza and what not, are working havoc. In our cities, at least, we have nothing but sufferers from chlorosis, anæmia, arterio-sclerosis and paralysis. To remedy all this physiological misery, M. Dhur esteems that '*something else* must be done than that which has been done up to the present,' and he invites to the search of that something else, all those who have the care of the preservation of the nation, of the improvement of its functions. We ought, first, to modify our mentality, to elevate our characters. For instance, it is incontestable that a corpse in decomposition in the ground breeds germs of sickness which, through divers agencies, being brought back to the surface, produce anæmia and death in the population; it is equally certain that incineration removes the danger; all authorities on hygiene have recognized this. Now, how many are there who will declare this publicly? Not to offend prejudice, they are content to diminish without really succeeding in it, the danger of cemeteries; they allow the common grave to subsist; they allow the soil, water, the air we breathe to be contaminated: the corpse, source of all

rottenness, remains a sacred thing! 'For the race, . . . for the country,' we must, among other useful measures, incinerate our dead; the ancients divinized fire on account of its purifying virtues; do not let us weary of exalting them, let us lift our voices, let us proclaim the truth in spite of opposition.

"At Rheims, the *Bulletin du Diocèse* is triumphant; the inhabitants draw away from the crematory monument as from an infernal cavern. At Rouen only a few incinerations have taken place. In other centres the idea progresses. Thus at Marseilles, to-day the second city of France, the Municipal Council has just voted the funds necessary for the construction of a crematory in the cemetery of Saint-Pierre; the expense is estimated at some hundred thousand francs. As in Paris, it will be for the bodies brought by families, and for those from the hospitals. A columbarium of 430 niches will at first be built on the north side of the monument. Confiding in the support of one of the members of our society, Dr. Gallois, of Dijon, and knowing the favorable dispositions of the municipal council of that city, we hope soon to announce to you the construction of a monument in the capital of Côte-d'Or.

"These results are not of a nature to discourage us; let us be mindful that, in 1880, we were compelled to have our dead incinerated at Milan or at Gotha. Water which falls, drop by drop, crumbles, hollows, breaks up the giant rock: so will inhumation disappear under our repeated efforts!"

Finally the general secretary gives an account of the status of the Society:

MEMBERS ON THE 19TH MAY, 1905:

Men	503
Women	140
Total	643

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 19TH MAY, 1905.

Receipts from 14th May, 1904, up to 19th

May, 1905	Fr. 3,803.90
Expenditures	3,080.45

Balance on hand.....	Fr. 723.45
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Assets	Fr. 46,952.90
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Let us note that "Les Questions Actuelles" has already reprinted (Vol. VII, p. 139 and following) a letter of H. E. Card. Richard, Archbishop of Paris, explaining Catholic doctrine on this subject; as for practical rules of conduct, they have been traced by several decrees of the Holy Office, which we have also reprinted (Vol. VII, p. 142, and Vol. XXV, p. 62, "Questions Actuelles.").

We could not better conclude than by giving this extract from the masterly discourse of Mgr. Freppel before the Chamber, when the law was under discussion which was to officially favor cremation:

"When nature does her work of inevitable dissolution, that the body should become after death, as Bossuet said, following Tertullian, 'a something, I know not what, having no name in any language,' we cannot prevent it; it is the necessary consequence of the awful decree pronounced in the beginning against the human race: 'Thou art dust and into dust thou shalt return'; and not as M. Blatin has it, 'Thou art ashes and into ashes thou shalt return.'

" But to perform or to permit others to perform an operation which has for its end to remove, as quickly and as completely as possible, the mortal remains of those who were dearest to us, and that on the day of burial, amid the tears of a whole family ; this is an act of barbarity repugnant to the highest instincts of the human heart and to which we must be careful not to give legal sanction.

" How can you behold that cauldron, that furnace . . . yes ! that crematory oven where, under the eyes of weeping relatives, the body is thrown, of a father, a mother, a brother, that it may be reduced to ashes, and we rid of it as soon as possible, even as of the corpse of an infected animal. Such is the spectacle you wish to offer to our people ! You don't think of it. For, either one of two things—either these cannibal scenes—I am not afraid to describe them so—will take place before everybody, and in that case nothing could be conceived more contrary to decency and public morals, or else they will be secret, clandestine, and then you open the door to all manner of abuses and, in one case as in the other, you authorize a practice revolting to those who have preserved respect for the dead."

QUESTIONS ACTUELLES.



Encyclical Letter

Of Our Holy Father

POPE PIUS X.

Encyclical Letter

Of Our Holy Father

POPE PIUS X.



TO THE ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, CLERGY
AND PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

TO OUR WELL-BELOVED SONS,

FRANÇOIS MARIE RICHARD, CARDINAL PRIEST OF HOLY
ROMAN CHURCH, ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS; VICTOR
LUCIEN LECOT, CARDINAL PRIEST OF HOLY ROMAN
CHURCH, ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX; PIERRE HEC-
TOR COULLIÈ, CARDINAL PRIEST OF HOLY ROMAN
CHURCH, ARCHBISHOP OF LYONS; JOSEPH GUIL-
LAUME LABOURÈ, CARDINAL PRIEST OF HOLY ROMAN
CHURCH, ARCHBISHOP OF RENNES, AND TO ALL OUR
VENERABLE BRETHREN, THE ARCHBISHOPS AND
BISHOPS AND TO ALL THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF
FRANCE.

PIUS X, POPE.

VENERABLE BRETHREN, WELL-BELOVED SONS,
HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

OUR soul is full of sorrowful solicitude and Our heart
overflows with grief, when Our thoughts dwell upon you.
How, indeed, could it be otherwise, immediately after

the promulgation of that law which, by sundering violently the old ties that linked your nation with the Apostolic See, creates for the Catholic Church in France a situation unworthy of her and ever to be lamented? That is, beyond question, an event of the gravest import, and one that must be deplored by all right-minded men, for it is as disastrous to society as it is to religion; but it is an event which can have surprised nobody who has paid any attention to the religious policy followed in France of late years. For you, Venerable Brethren, it will certainly have been nothing new or strange, witnesses as you have been of the many dreadful blows aimed from time to time at religion by the public authority. You have seen the sanctity and the inviolability of Christian marriage outraged by legislative acts in formal contradiction with them; the schools and hospitals laicised; clerics torn from their studies and from ecclesiastical discipline to be subjected to military service; the religious congregations dispersed and despoiled, and their members for the most part reduced to the last stage of destitution. Other legal measures which you all know have followed: the law ordaining public prayers at the beginning of each Parliamentary Session and of the assizes has been abolished; the signs of mourning traditionally observed on board the ships on Good Friday suppressed; the religious character effaced from the judicial oath; all actions and emblems serving in any way to recall the idea of religion banished from the courts, the schools, the army, the navy, and in a word, from all public establishments. These measures and others still which, one after another, really separated the Church from the State, were but so many steps designedly made to arrive at complete and official separation, as

the authors of them have publicly and frequently admitted.

On the other hand, the Holy See has spared absolutely no means to avert this great calamity. While it was untiring in warning those who were at the head of affairs in France, and in conjuring them over and over again to weigh well the immensity of the evils that would infallibly result from their separatist policy, it at the same time lavished upon France the most striking proofs of indulgent affection. It had then reason to hope that gratitude would have stayed those politicians on their downward path, and brought them at last to relinquish their designs. But all has been in vain—the attentions, good offices, and efforts of Our Predecessor and Ourself. The enemies of religion have succeeded at last in effecting by violence what they have long desired, in defiance of your rights as a Catholic nation and of the wishes of all who think rightly. At a moment of such gravity for the Church, therefore, filled with the sense of Our Apostolic responsibility, We have considered it Our duty to raise Our voice and to open Our heart to you, Venerable Brethren, and to your clergy and people—to all of you whom We have ever cherished with special affection, but whom We now, as is only right, love more tenderly than ever.

That the State must be separated from the Church is a thesis absolutely false, a most pernicious error. Based, as it is, on the principle that the State must not recognize any religious cult, it is in the first place guilty of a great injustice to God; for the Creator of man is also the Founder of human societies, and preserves their existence as He preserves our own. We owe Him, therefore, not only a private cult, but a public and social worship to honor Him. Besides, it is an obvious

negation of the supernatural order. It limits the action of the State to the pursuit of public prosperity during this life only, which is but the proximate object of political societies; and it occupies itself in no fashion (on the plea that this is foreign to it) with their ultimate object, which is man's eternal happiness after this short life shall have run its course. But as the present order of things is temporary and subordinated to the attainment of man's supreme and absolute welfare, it follows that the civil power must not only place no obstacle in the way of this object, but must aid us in effecting it. It also upsets the order providentially established by God in the world, which demands a harmonious agreement between the two societies, the civil and the religious, although each exercises its authority in its own sphere. It follows necessarily that there are many things belonging to them in common in which both societies must have relations with one another. Remove the agreement between Church and State, and the result will be that from these common matters will spring the seeds of disputes which will become acute on both sides; it will become more difficult to see where the truth lies, and great confusion is certain to arise. Finally, it inflicts great injury on society itself, for it cannot either prosper or last long when due place is not left for religion, which is the supreme rule and the sovereign mistress in all questions touching the rights and the duties of men. Hence the Roman Pontiffs have never ceased, as circumstances required, to refute and condemn the doctrine of the separation of Church and State. Our illustrious predecessor, Leo XIII, especially, has frequently and splendidly expounded Catholic teaching on the relations which should subsist between the two societies. "Between them," he says, "there must necessarily be a

suitable union, which may not improperly be compared with that existing between body and soul.—*Quaedam intercedat necesse est ordinata colligatio (inter illas) quae quidem conjunctio non immerito comparatur, per quam anima et corpus in homine corpulantur.*" He proceeds: "Human societies cannot, without becoming criminal, act as if God did not exist or refuse to concern themselves with religion, as though it were something foreign to them, or of no purpose to them. . . . As for the Church, which has God Himself for its author, to exclude her from the active life of the nation, from the laws, the education of the young, the family, is a great and pernicious error.—*Civitates non possunt citra scelus, gerere se tamquam si Deus omnino non esset, aut curam religionis velut alienam nihilque profuturam abjicere. . . . Ecclesiam vero, quam Deus ipse constituit, ab actione vitae excludere, a legibus, ab institutione adolescentium, a societate domestica, magnus et perniciosus est error.*" (1)

And if it is true that any Christian State does something which is eminently disastrous and reprehensible in separating itself from the Church, how much more deplorable is it that France, of all nations in the world, should have entered on this policy; France, which has been during the course of centuries the object of such great and special predilection on the part of the Apostolic See, whose fortunes and glories have ever been closely bound up with the practice of Christian virtue and respect for religion. Leo XIII had truly good reason to say: "France cannot forget that Providence has united its destiny with the Holy See by ties too strong and too old that she should ever wish to break them. And it is this

(1) Ency. "Immortale Dei," Nov., 1885.

union that has been the source of her real greatness and her purest glories. . . . To disturb this traditional union would be to deprive the nation of part of her moral force and her great influence in the world.”(1)

And the ties that consecrated this union should have been doubly inviolable from the fact that they were sanctioned by oath-bound treaties. The Concordat entered upon by the Sovereign Pontiff and the French Government was, like all treaties of the same kind, concluded between States, a bilateral contract binding on both parties to it. The Roman Pontiff on the one side and the Head of the French Nation on the other solemnly stipulated both for themselves and their successors to maintain inviolate the pact they signed. Hence the same rule applied to the Concordat as to all international treaties, viz., the law of nations, which prescribes that it could not be in any way annulled by one alone of the contracting parties. The Holy See has always observed with scrupulous fidelity the engagements it has made, and it has always required the same fidelity from the State. This is a truth which no impartial judge can deny. Yet to-day the State, by its sole authority, abrogates the solemn pact it signed. Thus it violates its sworn promise. To break with the Church, to free itself from her friendship, it has stopped at nothing, and has not hesitated to outrage the Apostolic See by this violation of the law of nations, and to disturb the social and political order itself—for the reciprocal security of nations in their relations with one another depends mainly on the inviolable fidelity and the sacred respect with which they observe their treaties.

(1) Allocution to the French pilgrims, April 13, 1888.

The extent of the injury inflicted on the Apostolic See by the unilateral abrogation of the Concordat is notably aggravated by the manner in which the State has effected this abrogation. It is a principle admitted without controversy, and universally observed by all nations, that the breaking of a treaty should be previously and regularly notified in a clear and explicit manner, to the other contracting party by the one which intends to put an end to the treaty. Yet not only has no notification of this kind been made to the Holy See but no indication whatever on the subject has been conveyed to it. Thus the French Government has not hesitated to treat the Apostolic See without ordinary respect and without the courtesy that is never omitted even in dealing with the smallest States. Its officials, representatives though they were of a Catholic nation, have heaped contempt on the dignity and power of the Sovereign Pontiff, the Supreme Head of the Church, whereas they should have shown more respect to this power than to any other political power—and a respect all the greater from the fact that the Holy See is concerned with the eternal welfare of souls, and that its mission extends everywhere.

If We now proceed to examine in itself the law that has just been promulgated, We find, therein, fresh reason for protesting still more energetically. When the State broke the bonds of the Concordat, and separated itself from the Church, it ought, as a natural consequence, to have left her her independence, and allowed her to enjoy peacefully that liberty, granted by the common law, which it pretended to assign to her. Nothing of the kind has been done. We recognize in the law many exceptional and odiously restrictive provisions, the effect of which

is to place the Church under the domination of the civil power. It has been a source of bitter grief to Us to see the State thus encroach on matters which are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church; and We bewail this all the more for the reason that the State, dead to all sense of equity and justice, has thereby created for the Church of France a situation grievous, crushing, and oppressive of her most sacred rights.

For the provisions of the new law are contrary to the constitution on which the Church was founded by Jesus Christ. The Scripture teaches us, and the tradition of the Fathers confirms the teaching, that the Church is the mystical body of Christ, ruled by the *Pastors* and *Doctors* (Ephes. iv. 11 sqq.)—a society of men containing within its own fold chiefs who have full and perfect powers for ruling, teaching and judging (Matt. xxviii. 18-20; xvi. 18, 19; xviii. 17; Tit. ii. 15; II. Cor. x. 6; xiii. 10, etc.) It follows that the Church is essentially an *unequal* society, that is, a society comprising two categories of persons, the pastors and the flock, those who occupy a rank in the different degrees of the hierarchy and the multitude of the faithful. So distinct are these categories that with the pastoral body only rests the necessary right and authority for promoting the end of that society and directing all its members towards its end; the one duty of the multitude is to allow themselves to be led, and, like a docile flock, to follow the pastors. St. Cyprian, Martyr, expresses this truth admirably when he writes: "Our Lord, whose precepts we must revere and observe, in establishing the episcopal dignity and the nature of the Church, addresses Peter thus in the gospel: *Ego dico tibi, quia tu es*

Petrus, etc. Hence, through all the vicissitudes of time and circumstance, the plan of the episcopate and the constitution of the Church have always been found to be so framed that the Church rests on the Bishops, and that all its acts are ruled by them.—*Dominus Noster, cujus praecepta metuere et servare debemus, episcopi honorem et ecclesiae suae rationem disponens, in evangelio loquitur et dicit Petro: Ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus, etc.* . . . *Inde per temporum et successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio et Ecclesiae ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur et omnis actus Ecclesiae per eosdem praepositos gubernetur*" (St. Cyprian, Epist. xxvii.-xxviii. ad Lapsos ii. i.). St. Cyprian affirms that all this is based on divine law, *divina lege fundatum*. The Law of Separation, in opposition to these principles, assigns the administration and the supervision of public worship not to the hierarchical body divinely instituted by Our Saviour, but to an association formed of laymen. To this association it assigns a special form and a juridical personality, and considers it alone as having rights and responsibilities in the eyes of the law in all matters appertaining to religious worship. It is this association which is to have the use of the churches and sacred edifices, which is to possess ecclesiastical property, real and personal, which is to have at its disposition (though only for a time) the residences of the bishops and priests and the seminaries; which is to administer the property, regulate collections, and receive the alms and the legacies destined for religious worship. As for the hierarchical body of pastors, the law is completely silent. And if it does prescribe that the associations of worship are to be constituted in harmony with the general rules of organization of the cult whose existence they are designed

to assure, it is none the less true that care has been taken to declare that in all disputes which may arise relative to their property, the Council of State is the only competent tribunal. These associations of worship are therefore placed in such a state of dependence on the civil authority that the ecclesiastical authority will, clearly, have no power over them. It is obvious at a glance that all these provisions seriously violate the rights of the Church, and are in opposition with her divine constitution. Moreover, the law on these points is not set forth in clear and precise terms, but is left so vague and so open to arbitrary decisions that its mere interpretation is well calculated to be productive of the greatest trouble.

Besides, nothing more hostile to the liberty of the Church than this Law could well be conceived. For, with the existence of the association of worship, the Law of Separation hinders the pastors from exercising the plenitude of their authority and of their office over the faithful, when it attributes to the Council of State supreme jurisdiction over these associations and submits them to a whole series of prescriptions not contained in common law, rendering their formation difficult and their continued existence more difficult still; when, after proclaiming the liberty of public worship, it proceeds to restrict its exercise by numerous exceptions; when it despoils the Church of the internal regulation of the churches in order to invest the State with this function; when it thwarts the preaching of Catholic faith and morals and sets up a severe and exceptional penal code for clerics—when it sanctions all these provisions and many others of the same kind in which wide scope is left to arbitrary ruling, does it not place the Church in a position of humiliating subjection and, under the pre-

text of protecting public order, deprive peaceable citizens, who still constitute the vast majority in France, of the sacred right of practising their religion? Hence it is not merely by restricting the exercise of worship (to which the Law of Separation falsely reduces the essence of religion) that the State injures the Church, but by putting obstacles to her influence, always a beneficent influence over the people, and by paralyzing her activity in a thousand different ways. Thus, for instance, the State has not been satisfied with depriving the Church of the Religious Orders, those precious auxiliaries of hers in her sacred mission, in teaching and education, in charitable works, but it must also deprive her of the resources which constitute the human means necessary for her existence and the accomplishment of her mission.

In addition to the wrongs and injuries to which we have so far referred, the Law of Separation also violates and tramples under foot the rights of property of the Church. In defiance of all justice, it despoils the Church of a great portion of a patrimony which belongs to her by titles as numerous as they are sacred; it suppresses and annuls all the pious foundations consecrated, with perfect legality, to divine worship and to suffrages for the dead. The resources furnished by Catholic liberality for the maintenance of Catholic schools, and the working of various charitable associations connected with religion, have been transferred to lay associations in which it would be idle to seek for a vestige of religion. In this it violates not only the rights of the Church, but the formal and explicit purpose of the donors and testators. It is also a subject of keen grief to Us that the law, in contempt of all right, proclaims as property of

the State, Departments or Communes the ecclesiastical edifices dating from before the Concordat. True, the Law concedes the gratuitous use of them, for an indefinite period, to the associations of worship, but it surrounds the concession with so many and so serious reserves that in reality it leaves to the public powers the full disposition of them. Moreover, We entertain the gravest fears, for the sanctity of those temples, the august refuges of the Divine Majesty and endeared by a thousand memories to the piety of the French people. For they are certainly in danger of profanation if they fall into the hands of laymen.

When the law, by the suppression of the Budget of Public Worship, exonerates the State from the obligation of providing for the expenses of worship, it violates an engagement contracted in a diplomatic convention, and at the same time commits a great injustice. On this point there cannot be the slightest doubt, for the documents of history offer the clearest confirmation of it. When the French Government assumed in the Concordat the obligation of supplying the clergy with a revenue sufficient for their decent subsistence and for the requirements of public worship, the concession was not a merely gratuitous one—it was an obligation assumed by the State to make restitution, at least in part, to the Church whose property had been confiscated during the first Revolution. On the other hand, when the Roman Pontiff in this same Concordat bound himself and his successors, for the sake of peace, not to disturb the possessors of property thus taken from the Church, he did so only on one condition: that the French Government should bind itself in perpetuity to endow the clergy suitably and to provide for the expenses of divine worship.

Finally, there is another point on which We cannot be silent. Besides the injury it inflicts on the interests of the Church, the new law is destined to be most disastrous to your country. For there can be no doubt but that it lamentably destroys union and concord. And yet without such union and concord no nation can live long or prosper. Especially in the present state of Europe, the maintenance of perfect harmony must be the most ardent wish of everybody in France who loves his country and has its salvation at heart. As for Us, following the example of Our Predecessor and inheriting from him a special predilection for your nation, We have not confined Ourselves to striving for the preservation of all the rights of the religion of your forefathers, but We have always, with that fraternal peace of which religion is certainly the strongest bond ever before Our eyes, endeavored to promote unity among you. We cannot, therefore, without the keenest sorrow observe that the French Government has just done a deed which inflames on religious grounds passions already too dangerously excited, and which, therefore, seems to be calculated to plunge the whole country into disorder.

Hence, mindful of Our Apostolic charge and conscious of the imperious duty incumbent upon Us of defending and preserving against all assaults the full and absolute integrity of the sacred and inviolable rights of the Church, We do, by virtue of the supreme authority which God has confided to Us, and on the grounds above set forth, reprove and condemn the law voted in France for the separation of Church and State, as deeply unjust to God whom it denies, and as laying down the principle that the Republic recognizes no cult. We reprove and condemn it as violating the natural law, the law of

nations, and fidelity to treaties; as contrary to the Divine constitution of the Church, to her essential rights and to her liberty; as destroying justice and trampling under foot the rights of property which the Church has acquired by many titles and, in addition, by virtue of the Concordat. We reprove and condemn it as gravely offensive to the dignity of this Apostolic See, to Our own person, to the Episcopacy, and to the clergy and all the Catholics of France. Therefore, We protest solemnly and with all Our strength against the introduction, the voting and the promulgation of this law, declaring that it can never be alleged against the imprescriptible rights of the Church.

We had to address these grave words to you, Venerable Brethren, to the people of France and of the whole Christian world, in order to make known in its true light what has been done. Deep indeed is Our distress when We look into the future and see there the evils that this law is about to bring upon a people so tenderly loved by Us. And We are still more grievously affected by the thought of the trials, sufferings and tribulations of all kinds that are to be visited on you, Venerable Brethren, and on all your clergy. Yet, in the midst of these crushing cares, We are saved from excessive affliction and discouragement when Our mind turns to Divine Providence, so rich in mercies, and to the hope, a thousand times verified, that Jesus Christ will not abandon His Church or ever deprive her of His unfailing support. We are, then, far from feeling any fear for the Church. Her strength and her stability are divine, as the experience of ages triumphantly proves. The world knows of the endless calamities, each more terrible than the last, that have fallen upon

her during this long course of time—but where all purely human institutions must inevitably have succumbed, the Church has drawn from her trials only fresh strength and richer fruitfulness. As to the persecuting laws passed against her, history teaches, even in recent times, and France itself confirms the lesson, that though forged by hatred, they are always at last wisely abrogated, when they are found to be prejudicial to the interests of the State. God grant that those who are at present in power in France may soon follow the example set for them in this matter by their predecessors. God grant that they may, amid the applause of all good people, make haste to restore to religion, the source of civilization and prosperity, the honor which is due to her together with her liberty.

Meanwhile, and as long as oppressive persecution continues, the children of the Church, *putting on the armor of light*, must act with all their strength in defence of Truth and Justice—it is their duty always, and to-day more than ever. To this holy contest you, Venerable Brethren, who are to be the teachers and guides, will bring all the force of that vigilant and indefatigable zeal of which the French Episcopate has, to its honor, given so many well-known proofs. But above all things we wish, for it is of the greatest importance, that in all the plans you undertake for the defence of the Church, you endeavor to ensure the most perfect union of hearts and wills. It is Our firm intention to give you at a fitting time practical instructions which shall serve as a sure rule of conduct for you amid the great difficulties of the present time. And We are certain in advance that you will faithfully adopt them. Meanwhile continue the salutary work you are doing; strive to kindle piety among the people as much as possible; pro-

mote and popularize more and more the teaching of Christian doctrine; preserve the souls entrusted to you from the errors and seductions they meet on all sides; instruct, warn, encourage, console your flocks, and perform for them all the duties imposed on you by your pastoral office. In this work you will certainly find indefatigable collaborators in your clergy. It is rich in men remarkable for piety, knowledge, and devotion to the Holy See, and We know that they are always ready to devote themselves unreservedly under your direction to the cause of the triumph of the Church and the eternal salvation of souls. The clergy will also certainly understand that during the present turmoil they must be animated by the sentiments professed long ago by the Apostles, rejoicing that they are found worthy to suffer opprobrium for the name of Jesus, "*Gaudentes quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati*" (Rom. xiii. 12). They will therefore stoutly stand up for the rights and liberty of the Church, but without offence to anybody. Nay, more, in their earnestness to preserve charity, as the ministers of Jesus Christ are especially bound to do, they will reply to iniquity with justice, to outrage with mildness, and to ill-treatment with benefits.

And now We turn to you, Catholics of France, asking you to receive Our words as a testimony of that most tender affection with which We have never ceased to love your country, and as comfort to you in the midst of the terrible calamities through which you will have to pass. You know the aim of the impious sects which are placing your heads under their yoke, for they themselves have proclaimed with cynical boldness that they are determined to "de-Catholicize" France. They want to root out from your hearts the last vestige of the faith

which covered your fathers with glory, which made your country great and prosperous among nations, which sustains you in your trials, which brings tranquillity and peace to your homes, and which opens to you the way to eternal happiness. You feel that you must defend this faith with your whole souls. But be not deluded—all labor and effort will be useless if you endeavor to repulse the assaults made on you without being firmly united. Remove, therefore, any causes of disunion that may exist among you. And do what is necessary to ensure that your unity may be as strong as it should be among men who are fighting for the same cause, especially when this cause is of those for the triumph of which everybody should be willing to sacrifice something of his own opinions. If you wish, within the limits of your strength and according to your imperious duty, to save the religion of your ancestors from the dangers to which it is exposed, it is of the first importance that you show a large degree of courage and generosity. We feel sure that you will show this generosity, and by being charitable towards God's ministers, you will incline God to be more and more charitable towards yourselves.

As for the defence of religion, if you wish to undertake it in a worthy manner, and to carry it on perseveringly and efficaciously, two things are first of all necessary: you must model yourselves so faithfully on the precepts of the Christian law that all your actions and your entire lives may do honor to the faith you profess, and then you must be closely united with those whose special office it is to watch over religion, with your priests, your bishops, and above all with this Apostolic See, which is the pivot of the Catholic faith and of all that can be done in its name. Thus armed for the fray, go forth fearlessly for the defence of the Church; but

take care that your trust is placed entirely in God, for whose cause you are working, and never cease to pray to Him for help.

For Us, as long as you have to struggle against danger, We will be heart and soul in the midst of you; your labors, pains, sufferings—We will share them all with you; and pouring forth to God, who has founded the Church and ever preserves her, Our most humble and instant prayers, We will implore Him to bend a look of mercy on France, to save her from the storms that have been let loose upon her, and, by the intercession of Mary Immaculate, to restore soon to her the blessings of calm and peace.

As a pledge of these heavenly gifts and a proof of Our special predilection, We impart with all Our heart the Apostolic Benediction to you, Venerable Brethren, to your clergy and to the entire French people.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on February 11 in the year 1906, the third of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X, POPE.

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The National Universities



NEARLY a decade has now elapsed since, in response to a petition addressed to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, through the English Bishops, by a large and representative body of English Catholics (including the majority of the Catholic Peers and many University graduates), permission was granted by the Holy See, under certain conditions and with certain clearly-defined safeguards, for the Catholic youth of this kingdom to frequent the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. As was expected by those who were most interested in obtaining the desired concession, it has been taken advantage of to a considerable extent during the past seven or eight years. In addition to the contingent of young Catholics from various Continental countries who have been, in somewhat increasing numbers, availing themselves of the peculiar advantages of English University education, there has been a fairly constant and steady influx of pupils of our principal Catholic schools into most of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. The

experiment of sending Catholic boys to these Universities may in fact now be said to have passed out of the experimental stage, and to have on the whole justified the anticipations of those to whose initiative and efforts it was owing that the idea first took practical shape. The moment has therefore seemed opportune for a resident graduate of Oxford, who himself took no part in the movement, but who has watched its development with deep interest, to sum up the situation, to the best of his ability, as it now exists. As an Oxford man, whose life and work has been closely connected with his own University for some years past, he hopes to be excused if much of what he has to say seems to refer rather to Oxford than to Cambridge. Nevertheless, there cannot but be much similarity of conditions and circumstances in the position of Catholic undergraduates at both Universities; and though some of the facts here given are based on detailed knowledge of Oxford only, it is probable that the general principles involved will be found to be applicable to Cambridge in an equal degree.

What it occurs to me to say on the subject of Catholics attending the National Universities falls, by a very natural division, under two or three obvious heads. I begin by giving a few facts and figures based on the actual state of things at the present time as regards Oxford. I then dwell briefly on the advantages of a University course for Catholic youths, not only as a preparation for their future careers in life, but also for its own sake: I go on to speak of the risks (both moral and intellectual) incidental to University life, and the means by which these may be lessened or obviated; and this leads me to the conclusion of the whole matter, as far as I am able to formulate one. I think it well, in

the first place, to remark that nothing here said as to the advantages or otherwise of young Catholics frequenting non-Catholic Universities is to be taken as indicating my opinion on the question of Catholic boys attending the great public schools of this country. This is doubtless a subject of great importance; but in view of the recent pronouncement of the Bishops of England, and indeed from the very nature of the case, it stands, of course, on an entirely different plane, and would have to be discussed (if indeed it admits of discussion at all) from a different standpoint and in a different spirit.

I. There are at the present moment between fifty and sixty Catholic undergraduates in residence at the various Colleges of Oxford. This is in addition to about twenty young Religious, Benedictines and Jesuits, who are reading for their degrees at the two University Halls belonging to those Orders; and there are besides a certain number of Catholic graduates permanently resident in Oxford, including one or two Fellows of Colleges. Thus the total number of Catholics connected with the University and living in Oxford may be put down at nearly a hundred. The considerations put forward in the following pages, however, affect the lay Catholic undergraduates only, and are not intended to apply to the members of the Jesuit and Benedictine Halls. The advantages to them of a University course, in view of their future work—whether teaching, preaching, or anything else—are so obvious, and the risks are so guarded against by their previous training, and by the safeguards of the religious life which they lead in Oxford as elsewhere, that their position is entirely different from that of the ordinary undergraduates in one or other of the Colleges.

It is to be noted, then, that the number of Catholic

undergraduates is only about three per cent. of the total number in residence, and that while the larger number, for various reasons, are members of Christ Church, New College, or Balliol, there are at least one or two at practically every College in the University. Whether this dispersion is advantageous or not is a question on which (as on most questions) something is to be said on both sides; meanwhile, it is an important factor in the situation that the Catholics do, as a matter of fact, form so very small a proportion of the undergraduate population of each College. Moreover, it would seem that their normal number seems to have been about reached, and no great increase is probably to be looked for in the future, though a certain accession of Catholics may no doubt be expected from the ranks of the Rhodes Scholars when they have reached the full strength contemplated by their founder. Meanwhile, for practical purposes, seventy may be taken as the average number of Catholic undergraduates likely to be resident at any one time in Oxford (at Cambridge, owing to various causes, they are considerably fewer), and it is with this estimate in view that the following pages have been written.

II. It is obvious that any appreciation of the advantages of a University course may be, and should be, made from two separate points of view, according as it is regarded as a preparation for a man's future career, or with reference to the actual life, discipline, and training of the University itself. The value of a University as a training-ground for a man's future naturally depends on what that future is intended to be. Of the undergraduates in residence at Oxford at any given time, many of course look forward to the ministry of the Anglican Church, or to the legal profession in one

or other of its branches. Others aspire to the Civil Service, either home, Indian, or colonial; some (many more of recent years than formerly) to the army; a good many to the unprofitable trade of schoolmastering. Some—though fewer than of old—have in view the life of a country gentleman, with its varied interests and duties; while the prospect before a certain number is a business career, not as a rule beginning at the bottom, sweeping out the office or “polishing the handle of the big front door,” but rather entering a business ready-made, either as managing clerks, junior partners, or what not. Literature and journalism, too, have their votaries, and so has the Stock Exchange. For some, political life has its attractions, while there are always a few whose ambition lies in the direction of a life of leisured learning at one or other of the Universities. With the exception, of course, of the first-named, there is not, I think, one of the careers which I have mentioned which has not its aspirants among our small body of Catholic undergraduates at Oxford. Of every one, indeed, I have personally known instances in the past few years; and I do not think it can be seriously disputed that in every single case it is of distinct advantage to a young man to have previously gone through a University career with credit to himself. I do not ignore the arguments that were formerly adduced against the view that the advantages offered by Oxford and Cambridge were great and obvious, and that the dangers were not more than a youth would encounter in the course, for example, of his training for the medical profession. An eminent prelate, writing on the opposition side, contended that because the medical and other professions constituted a distinct career, a definite call-

ing in life, a youth who had the vocation to embrace such a career would obtain the *gratia status*, the necessary helps to enable him to withstand the dangers incidental to his preparation for the work of his life; whereas he could not expect, and would not obtain, such special protection by deliberately encountering the unnecessary risks inseparable from a non-Catholic University. I suppose it is hardly necessary for me to point out that the whole of this argument is based on a *petitio principii*. If, as there is no room to doubt, a University training is advantageous, expedient, or necessary as an equipment for certain careers or professions, then, on the eminent prelate's own showing, those who are going through that training have a right to expect the very supernatural helps of which he speaks. I need not add more in this connection, except to point out that it is only in quite recent years that for certain professions—for example, that of a soldier—a previous course at the University has been generally accepted as an admirable training. Every one is aware that commanding officers of the best regiments in the service are now, as a rule, particularly glad to welcome University candidates, and that for various reasons which I need not dwell upon here.

III. As to the advantages *in se* offered to young men by three or four years of University training and discipline, it is not necessary to say very much. One of the obvious functions of University life, apart from the actual book-learning imparted and assimilated during the time spent in college, is the bridging-over of the difficult gulf between boyhood and manhood. At the University the boy learns to be a man; and our boys are so childish (or child-like, if that word be preferred) on leaving school that they need that preliminary training

for the world, that apprenticeship to the realities of life, even more than others. Then, of course, for a *clever* boy, it is the carrying on, the completion of his education (as far as education is ever complete), the intellectual emulation, the friction of mind with mind, the coming into daily contact with better men than himself, whether as companions or as tutors, which is so wholesome an antidote to the priggishness that besets the clever boys who leave school at the top of their forms, and think themselves Admirable Crichtons, with nothing more to learn. I feel as if I were uttering truisms, giving vent to mere platitudes, when I point out these as some of the obvious advantages of three or four years at the University after school days are finished. But I am not, of course, theorizing on the subject, but recalling the examples—the many examples—I have seen (I am not speaking only of Catholics) of the mental development, the widening of the intellectual horizon, which have been among the visible and obvious results of a University career.

IV. I come now to the drawbacks and dangers for which a young Catholic entering on his University course ought to be prepared, and which he will certainly have to encounter—and here I may say what perhaps rather belongs to the next part of my subject, in which I refer to the means available to minimize these drawbacks and to meet these dangers. Never, it seems to me, and under no circumstances, is the saying more true, "Forewarned is forearmed," than it is in this connection; and I can imagine nothing more foolish, nothing more perilous, than for parents, guardians, schoolmasters, to let a youth who has been brought up in the sheltered atmosphere and guarded surroundings of a Catholic home and a

Catholic school, drift, so to speak, into the entirely novel—startlingly novel, it may well be—environment of the University, as it is to-day, without proper warning and advice. For he will—and this I wish emphatically to insist on—he will find the atmosphere, the environment, the surroundings changed; and it is impossible for me, speaking from the point of view of a Catholic priest, to avoid adding, changed for the worse. A different and a lower standard of morals, a widespread indifference to religion, both among his companions and frequently among his tutors and teachers, that is often indistinguishable from professed agnosticism, a systematic self-indulgence and absolute contempt of the ascetic spirit which the Catholic religion has taught him is inseparable from the practice of true Christianity, an exaggerated admiration of physical powers and athletic achievement—a tendency towards what I may call sentimental æstheticism—these are only some of the pitfalls and quicksands which open before the feet of the newly-emancipated freshman as he starts on his University course, and which constitute a real moral risk to the young Catholic coming straight from a Catholic school or a Catholic home. Far be it from me to exaggerate these moral dangers, or to maintain that they are graver or more insidious or more imminent than the Catholic boy must encounter in any surroundings in which he finds himself in beginning the real battle of life. I knew Oxford fairly intimately a quarter of a century ago, and I know it fairly intimately now, and my deliberate opinion is that the ethical standard among undergraduates has become conspicuously higher in that interval. A sermon preached by the Bishop of London a few weeks ago in the University church at Oxford drew some atten-

tion to the moral state of the University, especially as regards the extent of drinking that prevails there. A great deal has been written and said on the subject, both inside and outside Oxford; but all that concerns me here is to express my belief that while anything like habitual drinking for drinking's sake would be looked on as distinctly reprehensible and indeed disgraceful, there is not that healthy trend of public opinion which one would like to see against intermittent excess on the occasion of collegiate celebrations and similar festivities. It is an instance of what I have already said, that the Catholic entering at Oxford will find the moral standard of the majority of those around him, both in this and in other matters, distinctly lower, and their consciences far less sensitive to the distinction between right and wrong, than the Catholic standard and the Catholic conscience are and must be. And this I believe, and I know, to be a source of real danger to him—the ever-present danger, indeed, of coming down himself by imperceptible degrees to a lower level, and obscuring or losing altogether those high ideals of what is right and what is wrong which are the necessary fruit of Catholic teaching.

So much for the moral dangers. I must now refer to the intellectual side—the danger to which a young Catholic may be exposed, in faith as well as in morals, in going through the academical course, and attending the lectures of a University which is, if not anti-Catholic, at least obviously, I may say notoriously, non-Catholic in its official capacity. That there are such intellectual risks and dangers it would be foolish to ignore; but it is difficult to generalize about them, because in this matter practically everything depends on what is the line of an undergraduate's studies, what is

his mental calibre, what his previous upbringing, and into what sort of hands he falls, I mean as regards tutors and lecturers, for his intellectual training. Of course, for the average pass-men (who form the bulk of our Catholic undergraduates, as they do of the undergraduate body at large), one need not say much about the danger to faith inherent in the course of studies which *they* have to pursue in view of their pass-degree. For men who aim merely at the modicum of learning—classical or mathematical, scientific or historical—necessary for such a degree, it may safely be said that such dangers do not present themselves in any acute form. But we must remember that a very considerable percentage of the Catholic undergraduates—exclusive of the members of the Benedictine and Jesuit Halls, who all read for honors without exception—do come up with laudable ambition to do well in the schools, and that the larger number of them enter at two or three colleges which insist on every undergraduate taking up honors in some part of his career. As a rule such students are those who have been picked out by their authorities at school as likely to do well at the University; and as the majority of those who go in for the final honors course take up either *Literae Humaniores*, i.e., philosophy and ancient history, or else the school of Modern History, it is in these branches of study, as taught at Oxford, that we should have to look for such intellectual danger, or dangers, to faith, as I have indicated. Not, of course, that the study of natural science is without its risks also. I do not suppose that the honor student who confines himself to chemistry and physics (as he can do if he likes) can probably go very far astray. But should his subjects be physiology and biology, the case will be dif-

ferent; for I say without hesitation that the spirit which animates some of our most eminent lecturers on these subjects, and of course inspires their lectures and their teaching, is one which to a Catholic, or indeed a Christian, seems nothing else than unblushing materialism. If any one doubts the noxious influence which may be exercised by even elementary teaching on such a subject, when informed by such a spirit, let him study the *Catéchisme de Physiologie*, by the notorious Paul Bert, a little book as fascinating in style as it is (to the mind of a Christian) pestilential in doctrine, which has been printed in millions and was imposed some years ago by the French Education Department as an elementary textbook on the primary schools of France.

I should like to say a few words on the philosophical side of our Greats, or *Literæ Humaniores* school at Oxford, high honors in which are deemed a greater distinction than in any other, and which naturally attracts the most brilliant and promising of our students, Catholic as well as non-Catholic. If I may formulate a conclusion before adducing reasons, here it is. I consider it would be a grave responsibility to advise a Catholic youth to take this school at Oxford, unless he had either already studied philosophy from a Catholic standpoint, or had some one at Oxford to refer to who knows both points of view. The teaching of philosophy at Oxford is not so much anti-religious, as it is inclined to suggest that a man may and can with advantage dispense with religion. Quite apart from the question of their truth or falsity, the Oxford philosophical tenets are presented to students, with all the accessories of culture and learning brought to bear on them and adorn them and illustrate them, totally independent of any supernatural sanc-

tion; and hence the tendency is to lead students to think that there is no need of religion, that it need not be taken into account. The point of view of the Catholic philosopher is not so much opposed as entirely neglected. What is, then, the danger to a Catholic youth sitting at the feet of these Oxford philosophers? Obviously, that he may learn to do without religion in practice as well as in theory; that religion may cease to occupy the all-important place, to have the vital hold upon him, that it has had all his life hitherto. A man might, and indeed does, go through the whole course of philosophy as taught at Oxford without ever realizing that the scholastics have (as an historical fact) taken Aristotelianism and given an exposition of it in the phraseology of dogmatic religion; that is, have given a metaphysical substructure to revealed truths. Of course he might find this out from his own reflection and reading, but it would be independent of, I may say in spite of, his tutors and his lectures; the fact that philosophy may subserve revealed religion is left entirely to his own devices to discover. Herein, it seems to me, is the risk of advising or encouraging an inexperienced young Catholic—to whom the Oxford philosophy is the only philosophy of which he has ever known anything, or will ever know anything—to read for this particular school. I do not wish to underrate what is good and fine in it. The simple fact that Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Ethics* are the text-books is immensely in its favor; for no man who intelligently reads these books (the very groundwork of Scholasticism as a philosophy) can, I think, ever be a materialist. Nor is the general tendency of the school towards making a man either a materialist or a sceptic. It is not destructive; on the contrary the Idealism,

whether of Berkeley or of Hegel, tends to be, and means to be, constructive.(1) Moreover, it is only fair to say that while these subjects are dealt with (as I have said) by their exponents purposely, professedly, and absolutely apart from religious considerations, nowhere could greater allowance be made for, or more considerate regard shown to a philosophy which includes dogmatic religion without its scope. So, let me repeat, what we want, and I think should insist on, in the case of Catholic candidates entering on this important study, is either a previous acquaintance with philosophy from a Catholic standpoint, or some one at Oxford itself who is competent and willing to expound philosophy from such a standpoint. Failing both these, what we desiderate are books on Catholic philosophy and its allied subjects which will deal with these matters on the same lines of treatment which such subjects receive at Oxford. Best of all, a chair of philosophy, endowed, say, for the express purpose of the exposition of scholasticism as applied to modern thought.

I have dwelt too long, perhaps, on this important subject, and must touch only in a few words on the other Honor School to which I have referred—that of modern history. The drawbacks to a young Catholic entering on a prolonged course of historical study, under the

(1) I have not referred in the text to the so-called pragmatic philosophy, of which Mr. Schiller is the Oxford apostle; for its adherents are so few as hardly to count. But even this curious system, tending as it does to discredit intellectualism, to make morality the test of truth, and practically to deny the existence of objective truth altogether, is constructive in morals, or means to be. "Even if there be no God," it says in effect, "you must believe in one, or at least act as if you did, if you will be a better man for such belief."

direction of men who look at and treat the whole subject from an absolutely non-Catholic standpoint, are sufficiently obvious; and the safeguards are surely as obvious as the dangers. A Catholic boy entering on such a course should be fortified beforehand by a firm grasp of Catholic principles and should, if possible, have had some kind of logical training to enable him to detect the fallacies and disentangle the sophistries which will certainly come in his way in the various lecture-rooms which he attends. It has been said, and said, I think, too lightly, that a Catholic youth will naturally discount the anti-Catholic bias which from time to time peeps out in the historical lectures which he hears, and that no impression saving a passing sense of irritation or discomfort is made on his mind by such statements (to cite only two which were repeated to me within the last few weeks) as that "the Pope would have been willing to grant Henry VIII. any number of divorces had it not been for the influence of Charles V.," or (this was in a lecture on the Natural Law) "that all must admit Newman's desertion of the Church of England to have been an act of deplorable moral weakness." I dissent from the comfortable theory that the Catholic student "discounts" such statements as these, made *ex cathedra* by men whose views and teaching he is accustomed to respect and to accept. They may be and sometimes are a real σκάνδαλον to him—a real stumbling block in his path; and it is because he is liable to encounter such stumbling-blocks, that I have maintained that he should be fortified in the way I have indicated before entering on the study of history as it is taught at Oxford.

V. I must now draw to a conclusion. I have referred to the undeniable advantages of a University course,

both in itself and as a preparation for a future career, and I have pointed out what I believe (not without experience) to be some of the dangers and difficulties, moral and intellectual, which must inevitably be encountered by a handful of young Catholics thrown among three or four thousand companions differing widely from themselves in religion, as well as in previous education, training, and all that that implies. But I do not wish to end my remarks in a pessimistic key; I will not even make my own the common saying: "Well, after all, our boys will be no worse off at Oxford and Cambridge than they would be if they went out straight into the great world." I believe, on the contrary, that they are infinitely better off. There are dangers, but there are the means at hand to overcome them. There are pitfalls in their way, but there are lamps also to light their path, and to enable them to see and avoid the pitfalls. I get letters from "old boys" of Catholic schools—old boys, but very young men—working in Cornish mines, attending medical schools in the East End of London, living alone in lodgings in provincial towns, roughing it in distant colonies, serving in the army on remote stations, with no church within reach, and not a single Catholic comrade at hand. These are positions more difficult—who can doubt it?—than those of our Catholic boys at Oxford and Cambridge. They have their difficulties, too, as I have shown, but they have a whole armory of weapons ready to their hand with which to encounter them. They have their own chapels and their own chaplains, devoted entirely to their service. They have their daily Mass, their frequent access to the Sacraments, their weekly conferences or lectures, their Catholic Societies—the "Fisher" and the "Newman,"

with periodical meetings for debate and discussion and friendly intercourse. They have, many of them, their school friends at the University, and opportunities of making new friends, as many do, among Catholic students who come up from other schools. In a word, they have a hundred helps to enable them to bridge over with the best advantage to themselves the important years of adolescence that lie between their schooldays and the work of their lives, whatever it is to be. Only—let this be my last word—it is the *right sort* of boy, and no other, whom Catholic parents and guardians and schoolmasters must choose to go on from school to University. That choice has not always been wise in the past, and it has been followed before now by disaster and downfall. If he has been the right sort of boy at home and at school, he will be the right sort at Oxford and Cambridge too, going through his academic course with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of his superiors; educating himself, in the true sense of that much-abused word; exercising a real apostolate among his young companions, and edifying them, not the less really because unconsciously, by the example of a stainless life; rejecting all that is bad and imbibing all that is good in the age-long traditions of our venerable Universities, about which there still clings, and must forever cling, the imperishable aroma of their Catholic past.

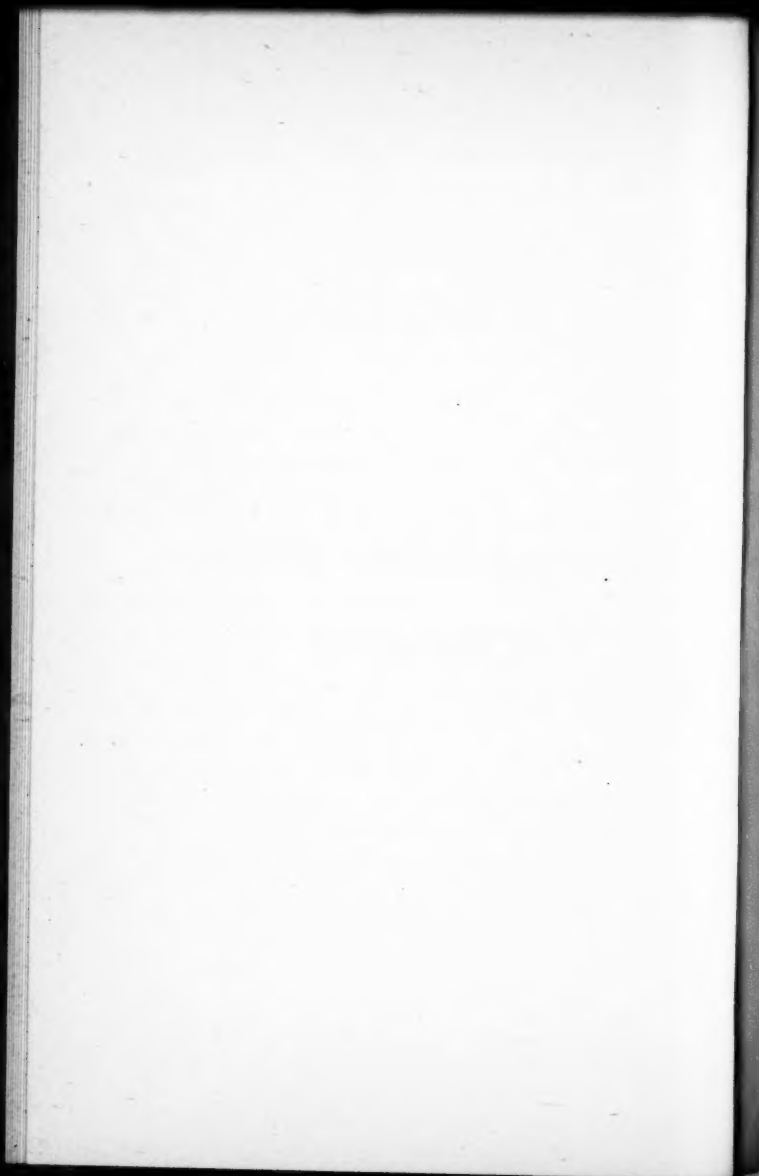
D. OSWALD HUNTER-BLAIR.

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Christian Labor Unions in Germany



Christian Labor Unions in Germany



MR. A. PELZER, in the *Catholic Social Review* of Louvain (July and September, 1905), and M. Max Turmann, in *German Workingmen's Unions* (tract from the quarterly publication, *L'Action Populaire*), have been studying the Christian Club movement in Germany. This movement interests all those concerned with social questions, and the press has lately taken it up in connection with the important strikes on the Ruhr. We shall, with Messrs. Pelzer and Turmann, examine their origins, their directing ideas and their organization.

To quote M. Pelzer, the union movement was prepared by the associations of Dr. Max Hirsch,⁽¹⁾ who, in 1868, endeavored to analyze the workings of the English organizations of labor, and afterwards set forth in several newspaper articles the result of his researches.

The *Kirsch-Dunkersche Gewerkverein* was founded.

(1) M. Max Turmann goes even further back:

"The oldest professional association of which we have knowledge across the Rhine would seem to be the National Association of German Printers. It was established in Mayence in 1848. In the intention of its promoters it was to bring together employers and workingmen. But the former refused their adherence, though the majority had seemed to be won over to the idea of their employees. It required long preliminaries before, in 1867, the association was able to unite the two elements in the world of labor. Masters and men were at once to give the association the following bases: reduction of the day's work

By the end of 1869, this organization was established in over 250 localities and numbered about 30,000 members.

The basis of this organization, writes M. Max Turmann, consists of a national association comprising one single profession, an association which finds support itself in the local organizations. In 1900, the number of local unions was 190, grouping 86,777 members. At the head of each trade association, or *Gewerkverein*, is a general council, named by election. Since 1869 a general representation of all these associations exists: it is the *Verband der Deutschen Gewerkvereine*. The direction of the *Verband* is entrusted to a "central counselor," assisted by a "legal adviser of the Union." The post of central counselor has been filled since the foundation by M. Max Hirsch, who also directs the organ of the Union, the *Gewerkverein*. Finally, the Diet of the *Verband* assembles every three years.

This, however, was not the Christian Union as it exists to-day. The latter movement is due to the personal initiative influence of Mgr. Ketteler. It assumed its definite form with Mgr. Hitze in 1894, as explained by the *Catholic Social Review* of Louvain, which will be our principal guide.

After having brought to mind Catholic teachings con-

to nine hours and a slight increase of salary, the latter established for a term of five years; however, after three full years this tariff freely consented to by patrons and workingmen might be decreased where the number of contracting parties had not increased; in any case at the expiration of the five years the same tariff might hold good for another year, by mutual consent, and its annulment must be demanded three months in advance.

"From these few details it is evident that the *National Association of German Printers* was, from the professional standpoint, very well organized. It was also to prosper; from 5,000 members in 1868 it has increased in 1900 to 27,187 adherents."

cerning property in the striking sermons preached at Mayence in 1848, Mgr. Ketteler, in his pamphlet *The Labor Question and Catholicism* (1864), examined the situation of the working class and the remedies proposed by liberals such as Schultze, and radicals of the kind of Lassalle. He demonstrated chiefly that social reform will not take place without the concurrence of Christianity. "The Church does not act upon the social state in an immediate fashion, by outward means and more or less mechanical institutions, but firstly, and above all, by the spirit it breathes into men," a spirit of charity and of self-denial, which will bring the rich and the laboring classes to moderation, and which will turn thus not only to their mental advantage, but also to the welfare of society.

During four years, from 1864 to 1869, the bishop of Mayence devoted himself to explaining what he meant, in the Christian and legitimate sense of the word, by the "claim of the working class." At Notre-Dame-du-Bois-lez-Mayence, in 1869, he again took up his plan of reform before an audience of workmen.

He demanded, in particular, an increase of salary relative to the true value of the work, decrease of working hours, the obtaining days of rest, interdiction of the toil of women and children in factories.

He inscribed these points (except the first), in the sketch of a political programme which he had composed towards the close of the Franco-Prussian war and which appeared in 1873 under the title, *Catholics in the German Empire*. It is known that the Centre Party, held back at first by the *Kulturkampf*, strove, even in 1877, by the bill "Galen and associates," to have this social programme triumph in the German Reichstag.

The bishop endeavors, in this programme, to make the idea of Co-operation of Production prevail over that of Co-operation of Consumption. He does not underrate the difficulties of the undertaking, but he does not turn, as the Socialistic unions do, to the State treasury. He sees in this process "an attempt on the rights of property," which, nevertheless, would "prove ineffectual." He hopes "Christian souls will be found to aid in the realization of his idea."

That idea will advance slowly, but surely. In 1872 the first essays are made. The Catholic miners on the Ruhr are the inaugurators of the organizations.

That year (1872), on the occurrence of a partial strike, a professional union of miners was formed, the direction of which was composed of Catholics and Protestants. This only lasted a short time. But the idea which had inspired it remained active with a large number of workmen, both Catholics and Protestants: it was proposed to enroll in one body all the miners, without distinction of party or religion, and to oppose this organized mass to the master coal dealers of the country.

In 1877, the miner Rosenkranz, though he was personally an earnest Catholic and attached to the Centre Party, succeeded in founding a "Union of Rhenish and Westphalian miners," which excluded from its sphere of action, after the first paragraph of its statutes, "all affairs of a political, religious and public order." In all sincerity its author wished it to be purely professional, admitting all miners, even the Socialists, that it might become "great and powerful."

Though actively fought by the heads of the social movement, on account of the dangers of its neutrality, the union of miners was in part compromised by its

Socialist members. Forbidden by employers, it was disbanded finally, in 1878, by the application of the anti-Socialistic law.

Since then, attempts at syndical organization were renewed, notably in 1884 and in 1889. In the latter year, following upon a gigantic miners' strike, which spread over all Germany, the old union founded by Rosenkranz was called into being again (*Alter Verband*). Unfortunately the Socialist directors did not observe the neutrality inscribed in the statutes. Their delegates were not able to put aside these chiefs in the change of Administration, and in 1890 the Christian workmen withdrew from the association. A new union, founded by a Christian miner of the name of Fischer, was not successful, and disappeared in 1892.

It had been proved by facts that the idea of neutrality, prematurely defended by Rosenkranz, had no chance of realization in actual conditions. If they did not wish to enter, or to see themselves some day forced to enter, a union which was virtually Socialistic and anti-religious, it only remained for the Christian miners to form an organization apart. This is what they did at Essen, August 26, 1894, by the establishment of the "Union of Christian miners of the mining district of Dortmund," which owes its existence to Augustus Brust, a simple miner.

But for twenty years (1868-1890), Catholic workmen sought for their exact bearings. They adopted, with regard to existing unions, an attitude of reserve and mistrust which the action of the same, especially of the Socialists, sufficiently justified. They did not seek to clearly concentrate the truth which the new movement contained, to clear the union idea of the political and

anti-religious alloy which falsified it in existing organizations. . . . After 1890 another attitude succeeds that of reserve. The union problem is squarely faced by German Catholics.

Up to that time certain foundations, such as the Relief Fund, had been created, especially since 1884, the material advantages of which aimed too exclusively at the welfare of the individual. Now workingmen realize the community of their interests, look upon themselves as conjointly liable, and do not hesitate to make considerable sacrifices which, perhaps not until long after, will reach and benefit other companions in labor.

Up to that time the members of Catholic Workingmen's Societies were preserved mainly from anti-religious and Socialistic influence. Now to the culture of the Catholic spirit is joined a marked care for the economic and social education of members to prepare them for united action. A clear proof of this is found in the conferences and social courses organized, since 1890, by the Catholic Workingmen's Societies, the libraries founded by them for their members, and the investigations they undertake.

Let us add that each Federation has its weekly journal: *Der Arbeiter* at Berlin, *Der Arbeiter* at Munich, and M. Gladbach's *Die Westdeutsche Arbeiterzeitung*. . . . It will be enough to glance through the latter organ, which prints as many as 41,500 copies and which the next Congress of Federation will perhaps oblige all members to take, to see with what energy and with what practical sense the interests of labor are defended in it, and how much the solid and substantial articles in the paper contribute to the social formation of its readers.

As for the causes which created the new organization

of Catholic Societies of Labor, we must seek for them not alone in the personal experience of the workingmen and the priests engaged with these societies, but also in a combination of outward circumstances, notably in the recent economic, associative, social and political evolution of the German Empire.

A new and more definite evolution was preparing. Already in January, 1891, the *Kölner Korrespondenzblatt*, organ of the presidents of the Catholic Societies of Labor, had published a project of organization wherein it was recommended to establish within the Societies of Labor special sections of a syndical nature. On September 26, 1894, the same subject was taken up again and thoroughly discussed in a meeting of the directors of the Societies of Labor for the archdiocese of Cologne. The programme traced by Mgr. Hitze was approved; it contained the following points: 1st, Workingmen, as well as other professional groups, have the right and the duty to associate for the protection and safeguarding of their professional interests; 2d, with very few exceptions, all existing trade associations (unions) are under Liberal and Socialistic influences, and consequently constitute a considerable danger for Christian workingmen; 3d, the danger can only be averted by one of two means: either by the creation of Christian unions, or else by grouping the Christian workingmen so that they may be able to paralyze the influence of Socialism and Liberalism; 4th, the formation of trade sections in Catholic workingmen's clubs is the best and surest way to arrive at a wholesome and efficacious organization of our workingmen, whether the said organization become autonomous or whether it be made within the limits of existing organizations; 5th, the action of the trade section is con-

financed to the pursuit of professional material interests. Festivities and amusements are excluded. Save where the president of the society expressly gives permission, it is necessary to be a member of the society in order to be admitted to the professional section.

With this programme, the Catholic union movement took on remarkable proportions. We soon beheld the formation of the Syndicate of Christian Miners of the mining district of Dortmund.

After the organization of the miners in 1894, we also see formed, among others: in December, 1895, in the principality of Lippe, a syndicate of brick-makers; in 1897, textile unions at Aix-la-Chapelle, Bössette, Eupen, and Düren, as also the union of miners and metal workers of the district of Bonn, established with the help of Pastor Stocker and the Abbé Brauns; in 1898 and 1899, the textile unions of Krefeld and M. Gladbach.(1)

(1) Still they were far from the powerful organization of the Socialistic unions. M. Max Turmann explains to us the enormous progress these had made since the abolition of the law of exception (1st October, 1890). "The *Gewerkschaften*, although *in fact* Socialistic unions, *in appearance* are independent unions: they even frequently so name themselves. They are open to all workers of the profession, of whatsoever age or sex, without obligation to accept the principles of the "*Sozial Demokratie*" (Socialism). This point was settled by Legien at the Frankfort Congress. The *Gewerkschaften*, he declared, are not Socialistic, because they do not make the admission of a workingman dependent upon his adhesion to the doctrines of Socialism. They are not affiliated to the party of labor, and in this they differ profoundly from certain French unions."

This distinction has been well elucidated by M. Karl Kautsky, a German theorist of federation. "The essential difference," he writes, "between France and Germany seems to me to lie in the fact that in France neutrality is a question of organization, while in Germany it is a question of propaganda. In Germany, with the exception of an insignificant minority, Socialists and Unionists alike admit that unions, considered as organizations, should be absolutely independent of the political groupings of Socialistic democracy." (Note of Questions Actuelles.)

It remained to effect the federation of local unions. The organized working bodies soon understood the necessity of this step. Firstly, they saw that divergences in the conception of united action which existed between unions of the same profession, but of different localities, created a great obstacle to the ultimate development of the movement, an obstacle only to be overcome by an understanding upon one identical programme. Further, the experience of economic struggles which they had had to undergo had taught them that they could not triumph without the support of unionist comrades, not of their own locality.

The good movement demanded assistance, and required that a strong power should give it impulse. The Catholic Congresses of Mayence, Frankfort, Krefeld and Munich were an opening.

The first Congress was held at Mayence, at Pentecost, 1899. Thirty delegates from the North, and 18 from the South of Germany, represented 37 unions, mostly local, 19 of which numbered 55,661 members. The order of the day, carefully determined upon in two preceding meetings, bore upon the question of organization. After three days' discussion, the Congress unanimously agreed upon the constitutional charter.

Christian unions were to be interdenominational, that is, to unite the members belonging to the two denominations. They placed themselves upon the common ground of Christianity.(1) They adhered to no political party.

(1) It will not be without use to note here that in Germany certain Protestants have been for many long years united to the Catholics on the ground of elections, and the Review *Le Sillon*, which had reproved the Center for being exclusively a "Catholic party," has just published a letter of rectification (10th October, 1905), dated from Büchelberg (Bavarian Pala-

If discussions bearing upon political party questions were forbidden, it was nevertheless necessary to discuss the introduction of legal reforms on the grounds of existing social order. The unions should federate by professions of the same nature and by closed industrial territories. The unions pursue, in general, the improvement of the material and intellectual condition of laborers of the profession. They are encouraged to take a position in conformity with the principles of Christianity and of political economy, with regard to the most important questions of the profession, such as salary⁽²⁾ and the duration of labor; to organize, where legal assurance is insufficient, funds and associations against sickness, accidents, stoppage and the incapacity to work; to overlook the application of measures for the protection of labor.

As for the means proposed, the Congress foresees the creation of a professional organ. It engages to organize investigations, to gather materials and statistics which may be useful, for instance, in negotiating with employers. It desires the organization of conferences where

minate), in which we read: "The Center is nothing else than a political and social party, no doubt constituted for the larger part by Catholics, but also by Protestants (Bruel, de Gerlach, Schultz, etc.). The Bishop von Ketteler, for example, was succeeded in the Reichstag by the Protestant, Schultz, and half of the Deputies from the (Protestant) province of Hanover belong to the Center." (Note of Questions Actuelles.)

(2) The Abbé Cetty, in *Choses d'Allemagne*, a pamphlet of *l'Action Populaire*, writes concerning salary in Germany:

"The law of insurance against sickness (10th April, 1892) imposes upon the higher authorities the duty of making known to the government the average salaries of workingmen taking out insurance. This investigation, which appeared in 1900, showed that salaries had sensibly increased since 1892. The increase is apparent in the city and in the country, for agriculture as well as industry. No doubt the rapid growth of German industries during the latter years partly explains this consoling

social legislation mainly will be discussed, its desiderata, the condition of workingmen of the trade, the efforts made and results obtained by the comrades of other countries or other territories.

As regards the tactics of unions, the Congress asserts the commonalty of interests which binds the employer and the employee; both should, above all, represent the interests of the production of goods as against their consumption. Both seek, and rightfully, to get the highest possible interest out of the capital they have put into the production of goods: the employer, capital; the workingman, labor—strength. Therefore a spirit of conciliation should pervade all the activity of unions. Claims should be moderate but sustained with energy. Strikes should be resorted to as a last measure, and only when there are chances of success.

The object was now clearly defined; to attain it, it was necessary to aim, above all, at making these organizations as strong as possible in number, in unity of views and

phenomenon, but it is not the only factor to be considered. There is here obedience to a law almost constant for more than half a century. This law holds good for the laborer in the fields and for the workman in the shop.

Still, notwithstanding the increase, salary leaves much to be desired. In many cases reform is imperative. In Germany salaried workingmen number above 12 millions. That is, with the members of the family added, almost a half of the whole population. Salary is therefore a question of life and death. We repeat that the condition of professional labor is much improved; abject poverty exists no longer save in sporadic cases. In Prussia in 1892, 70 per cent. had a salary of less than 1,100 francs; in 1900 the rate is 62 per cent. In Saxony an income inferior to 600 francs was in the proportion of 51 per cent. in 1892; in 1894, at 36; in 1900, at 28. Improvement is therefore considerable, and Socialists can no longer defend the thesis that black misery is on the increase. It is no less true that with this salary it is well-nigh impossible to support a family." (Note of Questions Actuelles.)

in internal cohesion. This was the main care of the second Congress of Christian Unions, held at Frankfort during the Pentecost holidays of 1900.

In this Congress all the Christian unions were invited to join in one general, single federation (*Gesammtverband der christlichen Gewerkschaften*), presided over by a committee in which each union or federation should be represented at least by one delegate. This committee chooses from its midst, and controls by its direction, an executive committee composed of five persons, forming a sort of permanent deputation for the dispatch of current affairs. It gives information, works at the establishment of new unions, and settles differences of opinion which might arise, and upon which in last appeal the next Congress of Christian Unions will pronounce.

To attach workingmen to the unions the Congress recommends the institution of funds of relief or insurance in such manner that members who withdraw from the unions should at once lose the dues paid in. It also takes strikes into consideration, declaring they should not be resorted to, save in last extremities, after having endeavored to come to an amicable understanding.

But one question was long debated: that of the neutrality of the union movement. The delegates of Cologne asked the Congress whether the Christian unions might entertain the thought of some day fusing into one single body with the Socialistic unions; if it were necessary to recognize in the Christian unions a temporary, provisional, and relative necessity or an absolute and definite necessity. These debates were much commented upon by the Socialistic and Liberal Press; the attitude of the Congress was sometimes misrepresented and falsified, and reports of very divergent nature were addressed

to the episcopal authorities. Several bishops took alarm. Mgr. Nörber, Archbishop of Freiburg, formally reproved the Congress for sharing condemned tendencies, and for using the word Christian as a "sign"; the more important associations, those of the weavers and miners, declared that, although they hoped one day to see all workmen associated for the safeguarding of their economic interests, they would never wish to oppose Christian principles in their economic action.

The executive committee, in its turn, took note of the matter in its meeting, November 8, 1900. With the exception of Mr. Wicher, representing the Federation of Metal Workers of Duisburg, the members were unanimous in signing the following declaration: 1. Members of the Christian unions, who have created these at the price of considerable effort and sacrifice, should protest energetically against the words of the message of Mgr. the Archbishop of Freiburg, that the word "Christian" is for them but a vain word and a sign and that they are only "organizing for Socialism the centres still attached . . . to the actual social order." No fact justifies this supposition, expressed by the mandate in question, and by a small minority of the Catholic press, without authority, a supposition wounding undeservedly members and friends of the working class who have co-operated until now in the movement of Christian unions. 2. We wish to declare that we will in future, as in the past, be ruled by Christian principles in the pursuit of union ends. No doubt the union of all workmen of the different trades into single organizations constitutes the ideal to be pursued; but it must be insisted upon that such federations shall not contradict Christian principles in their actions. Since, in actual junctures,

such like federations do not seem realizable for many a day to come (*in absehbarer Zeit ausgeschlossen*), we adhere to the programme fixed at Mayence, in the first Congress of Christian Unions, according to which Christian interdenominational unions are organized on a Christian basis, without attaching themselves to any political party.

The question of neutrality was again broached at the third Congress of Christian Unions, held at Krefeld from the 26th to the 29th of May, 1901.

Forty delegates, representing 99,460 members, against eleven delegates representing 7,730 members, voted an order of the day which approved the attitude of the executive committee, without, however, obliging the unions to share its views upon a question "which at present had no practical issue." So that unions adhering to the contrary opinion on the future character of unions, were not for this reason excluded either from congresses or from general federation.

The Congress of Krefeld further definitely drew up the statutes for general federation, returned the subject of insurance funds, and took a stand on several questions of legislation.

Eager always to increase the power of economic action in unions, the Congress recommended the placing in one sole and same fund the dues paid in by members to serve strictly for union ends, and the others for relief in case of sickness or death. It held that "Special funds should not be created save where conditions make them imperative."

Within the same order of ideas, the Congress specially discussed the organization of assistance in case of travel or stoppage, so that unions might be able to adapt the

offer of labor to the demand, and to regulate it to their advantage.(1)

The fourth Congress of Christian Unions was held in Munich, from the 29th of June to the 2d of July, 1902.

Means were sought to win agricultural laborers and women workers to the idea of union. Co-operative societies were discussed, and the attempt of intellectual improvement among workingmen.

After having inquired into the causes which withheld women from the unions, the Congress took action upon a programme which remedied their situation and established a tangible, objective end, likely to attract them. It busied itself, furthermore, with what kind of union organization was best suited to them.

As for agricultural laborers, it is easy to understand the motives which induced the Congress to take an interest in their situation. It was more difficult to gather these into unions, the Prussian law of 1854 condemning them to imprisonment for as much as one year to prevent attempts at coalition among field laborers, whom it classed with servants. The Congress charged its executive committee to address to government and to the German Reichstag a petition which demanded the right of coalition for agricultural laborers. While waiting for

(1) Mr. Cetty writes again (*Choses d'Allemagne*):

"Germany continues to extend the net work of her insurances of labor. She perfects, amends existing insurances and prepares new ones. Day by day the administration of these laws grows more normal and more fruitful. Experience and observation unite in pointing out their happy social results.

"The insurance against sickness has been modified in some essential points, and notwithstanding the importance of these modifications the government has made further promises regarding the almost entire revision of the whole organization. Meanwhile, workingmen benefit by the reforms adopted by the law.

"To begin with, insurance against sickness has been extended to apprentices of the trades and of business; it is a considerable

the removal of the legal difficulty, the Congress judged it necessary to group agricultural laborers into associations analogous with denominational labor societies, having for chief end to elevate their intellectual standing, to guarantee their legal assistance, and to create relief funds.

More resolute as to what concerns co-operation of production, societies whereof it wishes founded when this is possible, the Congress lengthily discussed what attitude the unions should preserve towards the consumers' companies. Different opinions were aired as to the connections to be established between these and the Christian unions. Several delegates would have liked to see the co-operative movement develop in an absolutely autonomous manner and form the third branch of the Christian labor movement, alongside the unions and the denominational labor societies.

The preceding paragraphs clearly show the important part played by Christian unions. After having prepared a general consent by determining the fundamental character of the Christian unions movement, the workingmen directors have been brought, inside of a very few years, thanks to the Congresses, to clearly know their ideas

extension, and fully justified. These young people, so interesting, so worthy of sympathy, have entered into the great laboring family to hold a place in it and to obtain help and protection.

"A long desired reform is at length accomplished. Relief, in case of sickness, covered 13 weeks; in future the term will be doubled, 26 weeks, a half-year. It is a social benefaction which the laboring world has greeted with joy. The law concerning invalidity assures assistance only after 26 weeks of sickness. There lay, therefore, between the 13 weeks of insurance against sickness and the 26 weeks against invalidity a space of 13 weeks, during which the unfortunate laborer was abandoned to his distress. Henceforth the bridge is made, the abyss is covered. There is no interval between the two insurances." (Note of Questions Actuelles.)

and obligations, to study more closely the proper ends of union, to develop internal cohesion and the numerical strength of their associations, and to take a stand upon the subject of labor reforms to the order of the day.(1)

It remains for us to study the distinctive characteristics of the Christian unions, or *Christliche Gewerkvereine*. We will follow, in this matter, the very accurate work of M. Max Turmann.

The foundation of these unions has been made necessary by the anti-religious attitude of the Socialistic *Gewerkschaften*. Therefore are the *Christliche Gewerkvereine* of opinion that "so long as the Social-Democratic groups shall make it their business to put Christian principles out of economic life, so long as they are a means of agitation for their party, Catholic workingmen will have to remain firmly united in an autonomous association."

But they do not wish to give an exclusively denominational character to their *Gewerkvereine*. Many of these

(1) These efforts have met with the success they deserved, as the following figures will witness. (See the very detailed report of the Secretary-General: *Zentralblatt*, 15th May, 1905).

The number of German Christian union workers has changed from 192,607 members, average for 1903, to 207,848, average for 1904; on the first of April, 1905, the number is 274,860, which constitutes an increase, in the space of two years, of 14,877, and of 71,699 members. To the number of members, 192,607 (207,484), we oppose at the same dates (1903-1904), the following numbers of other union organizations: 887,698 (1,052,108) members in the "free" federations, in reality Socialistic; 17,577 (20,686) members in the purely Socialistic local unions; 110,215 (111,889) members in the Hirsch-Duncker unions, 111,709 (130,514) members in the independent associations.

If the Christian unions to which these contingents belong are not all enrolled in the general federation, the latter nevertheless makes great progress. Instead of the 100,053 members it numbered in 1904, it counts this year (1st April) 17 central federations with a membership of 195,401, the great majority,

are, as they are styled there, "interdenominational," receiving Protestants as well as Catholics, and not worrying to convert the adherents to either of these two creeds. One thing alone is required of members of these associations: "that they should profess a religion in conformity with the order of the societies, that is, belief in God, and the recognition of a natural, spiritual, and temporal order."

However, in the greater number of these bodies, the large majority of members are Catholics. Still, it may happen that the Protestants predominate. Such is the case in the union of brick-makers of Lippe, who present another curious particular: masters and workmen unite to defend their common interests against contractors of brick work. Being compelled, during the season, to work far from their homes, masters and workers take their meals together and associate with great cordiality. Profits are divided among them as follows: one share of priority for the masters and one share of priority for

145,000 members exactly, being recruited in the provinces of Rhineland and Westphalia.

Up to April 1, 1904, 24 organs of the Christian unions were in existence, half of them appearing weekly. Their total circulation rises to 312,000 copies.

The union federations, accounted for in statistics, have seen their statements rise from one year to another, receipts from 1,131,605 marks to 1,337,341 marks; expenditures from 938,363 marks to 1,094,643 marks, and their balance from 754,107 marks to 948,196 marks (on December 1, 1904).

On a total expenditure of 711,699 marks for the year 1904, the unions grouped in the general federation, employed, amongst other sums: 133,362 marks to support strikers and the victims of drastic measures, 111,995 marks to pay the organs of the federations, 61,547 marks for propaganda, 55,036 marks for administration, 58,879 marks for various assistance, notably cases of decease; 8,727 marks for libraries and social and unionistic education, etc.

During the year 1904 Christian unions took part, with 14,818 members, in 291 contests, 143 of which ended in strikes and lock-

the workingmen. The rest to be divided equally among all the adherents. Contractors naturally fight these associations, but the government, on the other hand, supports them.

From the political standpoint, the *Christliche Gewerksvereine* are affiliated to no party and do not proclaim themselves as belonging to the Centre; they purpose preserving a purely economic character and wish to stand solely on professional grounds. This was particularly insisted upon in the convention which the Union of Christian Miners held last June at Oberhausen, and in which the delegates represented 80,000 members.

In the course of his recent researches, M. Tondeur-Scheffler has ascertained that, "in the case of co-existence in the same place of Christian *Gewerksvereine* and Socialistic *Gewerkschaften*, the latter seem to exclude carefully political anti-religious tendencies. Here is a symptom, adds the delegate of the Social Museum, which is certainly not without interest, for it seems to attest the strength already acquired by the Christian unions, although they are still of quite recent creation."

outs, involving 8,019 members. Ninety-two aggressive strikes are counted, involving 2,770 members; 25 defensive strikes, with 280 members involved; 26 lock-outs, affecting 1,439 members. As to contests and strikes, the Christian unions have conducted 74 themselves alone, and 152 with other organizations; while figures are wanting for the other cases. It is to be observed that in 96 cases the majority of those involved belonged to the Christian unions.

The textile workers have taken part in 53 contests, builders in 62, metal workers in 65, wood workers in 57, tobacco workers in 18, shoemakers in 7, tailors in 4.

As for the results of strikes, 62 aggressive strikes were crowned with success, 19 were successful in part, 11 failed. Eight defensive strikes succeeded; 10 brought partial success; 7 were unsuccessful.

Lastly, on 26 lock-outs, 6 only ended unfavorably for the workers. In the building industry 14 lock-outs out of 15 ended in a collective contract favorable to the workmen.

But M. Tondeur-Scheffler likewise remarks, "that it happens already that, in practice, these two associations, albeit of a different order, unite to advance in temporary accord towards a given end where the question is purely a professional one, as, for instance, the modification of salary. For this reason it is not strange to see the *Christliche Gewerkvereine* unite with the Socialistic *Gewerkschaften* in case of a strike breaking out over a question of this kind."

The behavior of Christian unions in strikes is very explicitly treated by the Abbé D. Pieper, secretary-general of the *Volksverein*, in the volume which he has consecrated to the *Christliche Gewerkvereine*.⁽¹⁾ Here, however, are the terms in which M. Andrew Dupin sums up the directive principles which inspire these bodies.⁽²⁾

The spirit which animates them is a peaceful and conservative spirit; for they wish, above all, to insure the respect for those natural and Christian laws upon which the social order rests. They see between workmen and masters a multitude of points in common. All industrial improvements, all questions of market, of colonial and customs policy, touch the former in the same manner as the latter. But together with this harmony, opposite interests also exist. They proceed from the fact that the workingman finds himself better or worse paid, according to the greater or lesser share of profits which the employer makes over to him.

The mission of Christian unions is to regulate this strife according to the law of equity by taking an attitude at once moderate and energetic. If masters are to

(1) Published at München-Gladbach, Cf. p. 21 and following.

(2) André Dupin. *Du mouvement syndical ouvrier dans l'industrie allemande*, p. 307 and following.

treat the workingman "as a human person whose rights are not to be lowered," the workmen, on the other hand, should speak to employers respectfully but on the footing of complete equality, "as a neighbor to a neighbor." When they name a committee to present their grievances, the same shall not assume a trenchant tone nor resemble "a delegation of war taking an ultimatum to an adversary."

These principles established, let us see what means Christian unions employ to make them succeed:

It is necessary first, continues M. André Dupin, to try and satisfy the desires of the workmen by negotiations with the employers. It is the first means which should appeal to a Christian organization. Therefore it is well to create, in each foundation, a workmen's committee which shall be anxious to concur as well as the employees in the maintenance of peace. As soon as a grievance comes to light, the committee examines into it and decides whether it is founded or not. In the first case only, it carries it to the employers and discusses with them the means of coming to an agreement. If the employers refuse to enter into preliminaries with the committee, the latter appeals to the union, which itself engages in fresh negotiations.

When all peaceful tentatives have failed, one means only is left, which is a strike. It must, says Dr. Pieper, be resorted to without fear, but must always be used loyally.

"When a decision of this gravity is to be taken, two orders of facts are to be considered: 1st, Is the strike just? 2d, Is it likely to be successful?

"Is it just?—for nothing authorizes union workmen to suspend work without a sufficient cause. The union

must be able to give the reasons which prompt its decision and make public opinion the judge of them.

"It should also be examined whether there are chances of success. On the eve of battle the union must, like a prudent chief, pass its forces in review and reconnoitre the ground. It must ask itself whether it can make the necessary sacrifices, if it disposes of sufficient means to assure the success of the strike; it must also consider the general state of affairs. This is an important point, for at a time of crisis the employer is often glad of a suspension of labor, which gives him leisure to pass off the product with which he is encumbered."

Such is, from the standpoint of labor conflicts, the programme of the Christian unions.

This programme has not stayed in the domain of theory; it has been put in practice. It would be easy to mention several important strikes supported by the *Christliche Gewerkvereine*; we will only name that of the miners of Pietsberg, of the velvet weavers of Krefeld in 1899, and, nearer to us, this very year, the strike of the miners of the Ruhr district.

It will be remembered that in the subscription opened for the latter strike, Cardinals Fischer and Kopp attracted attention by their generous donations.

* * *

Workingmen can therefore recognize that these unions are organized to render them all manner of services.

One of the characteristics of the *Christliche Gewerkvereine* organization, is the centralizing of authority in the hands of a few, and also the respect of all the unionists for this authority. The authority, which is very firm, says M. G. Blondel, is divided between the presi-

dent, the secretary-general, and a sort of directive council, composed of men called *Obmänner* (arbiters). The secretary-general should be by preference a man familiar with matters of bookkeeping and administration, having intellectual culture, and should be assured of a suitable salary; he need not necessarily be a workingman. On the other hand, the presidency, which confers extended disciplinary powers, is bestowed upon a workingman. Questions of special importance are transmitted by the *Obmänner*, who are the envoys of the workingmen. To better the condition of their members, the Christian unions try to intervene in the labor contract; substituting themselves for the isolated laborer, they wish that the liberty of the contract of labor, an economic conquest which they fully intend to enjoy, should become a reality for the laborers without means. . . . The union will enable these to draw higher salaries and to obtain more humane treatment.

The *Christliche Gewerkvereine* do not busy themselves only with salary, but also with all other questions relative to the moral and material welfare of workingmen. Thus they create bureaus of employment by administering those instituted by the communes. They also establish relief funds, notably against sickness, for burial expenses, and travel funds to enable laborers without work to go to those localities pointed out to them by the bureaus of employment.

The *Christliche Gewerkvereine* are also concerned with the elevation of the moral and intellectual standing of the workingman. For this purpose they arrange lectures on subjects of actual interest; and, furthermore, their divers corporative organs give information as to the state of professional affairs and of the different points

of importance to the trade. Finally, an effort is made to give workmen a knowledge of the principal protective laws of which, only too often, they have not the least idea, and which in consequence they cannot invoke in time of need.

With such an organization, and such care to constantly render service to the workmen, it is easily understood that the *Christliche Gewerkvereine* increase every year in number and in power: in 1900 they numbered 160,772 members; on January 1, 1905, this figure had changed to 274,800, marking, on the total of the preceding year, an increase of over 70,000 members. Let us add that the receipts in 1904 attained 1,131,605 marks and the expenditures 1,094,643.

These are fine results for efforts that do not date back beyond ten years.

Up to the latter date, the Socialistic unions had been alone in the effort to establish an understanding with similar unions in other countries. This is no longer the case: an international union has been formed among the Christian unions of textile workers in Germany, Holland and Belgium.

Immediately following upon the Congress of the Belgian Democratic League, held at Louvain in 1897, two members of the union of cotton workers of Ghent (joined by M. Arthur Verhaegen, president of the League), had been instructed to go and study the cotton industry and the labor organization of the industrial centre of Enschedé, in Holland. In consequence of this visit, continued relations were established between the professional Christian Union, *Unitas*,⁽¹⁾ of Holland, and the Na-

(1) This union, like the *Christliche Gewerkvereine*, admits both Catholics and Protestants.

tional Federation of Workers of the textile trade, of Belgium.

In the month of June, 1900, the secretary of the society *Unitas* consulted the Belgian federation as to the useful results which might be obtained by a meeting of Christian workmen belonging to the textile industries of Holland, Belgium and Germany. The direction of the Democratic League made haste to meet the wishes of the Dutch unionists. A meeting of delegates belonging to the three nationalities was held at Aix-la-Chapelle the 29th of July, 1900. First steps were taken in the direction of an international understanding, but the decisive step was not taken until the meetings of the 9th and 10th of September of the following year, at Düsseldorf.

After a long examination, the definite statutes of the alliance were unanimously voted. The text follows:

1. Members of the German, Dutch, and Belgian federations, passing from one federation to another, will be dispensed from paying their entrance fee anew and admitted by the very fact that they have previously conformed with the statutes of their union and do declare that they will observe those of the union to which they desire to be affiliated.

2. Members who shall have so passed from one federation to another will enjoy the same privileges as their colleagues affiliated at the same time to one of the unions of their federation. The passage from one federation to the other, however, must take place within the four weeks following arrival in the country.

3. Assistance and subsidies shall be organized according to the special statutes of each federation. Nevertheless, to be entitled to relief in case of strike or of stoppage of work, it will be necessary to have belonged for

at least six months to a union affiliated to one of the three federations. To enjoy the aid given in case of sickness, for funeral expenses, etc., it is necessary to have been a unionist for at least one year.(1)

4. In case of a strike or lock-out, the three federations shall owe one another assistance reciprocally, as often as the extent or the probable duration of the closing-down will not allow the federation directly affected to support itself.

5. The federation desiring help from the two others is held, as far as possible, to notify them four weeks in advance and to point out the causes and the eventual consequences of the strike.

In case of a sudden strike or of an unforeseen lockout, it will be necessary to prove that the resistance is just and inevitable. In all conflicts, members of unions must furthermore conform with the statutes of the federation and with the decisions of the directive committee, under penalty of losing all claim to assistance and to subsidies. In every serious case, an international commission, composed of two Germans, one Dutchman, and one Belgian,(2) may be constituted, and will decide if the occasion demands that the strikers be supported. This commission will have the right to enlist men of the trade and other counselors, so as to be perfectly informed upon the situation.

6. The three federations institute an international secretariat, with residence established at Enschedé, in

(1) This measure does not apply to the Belgian unions; for aid of this kind is, in Belgium, supplied exclusively by mutual companies, distinct from the unions.

(2) The number of adherent German unions is far superior to that of the Dutch or Belgian adherents; hence the *double* number of representatives at the international commission.

Holland. Half the costs and expenses of the international secretariat will be supported by the German federation and the other half by the Belgian and Dutch federations.

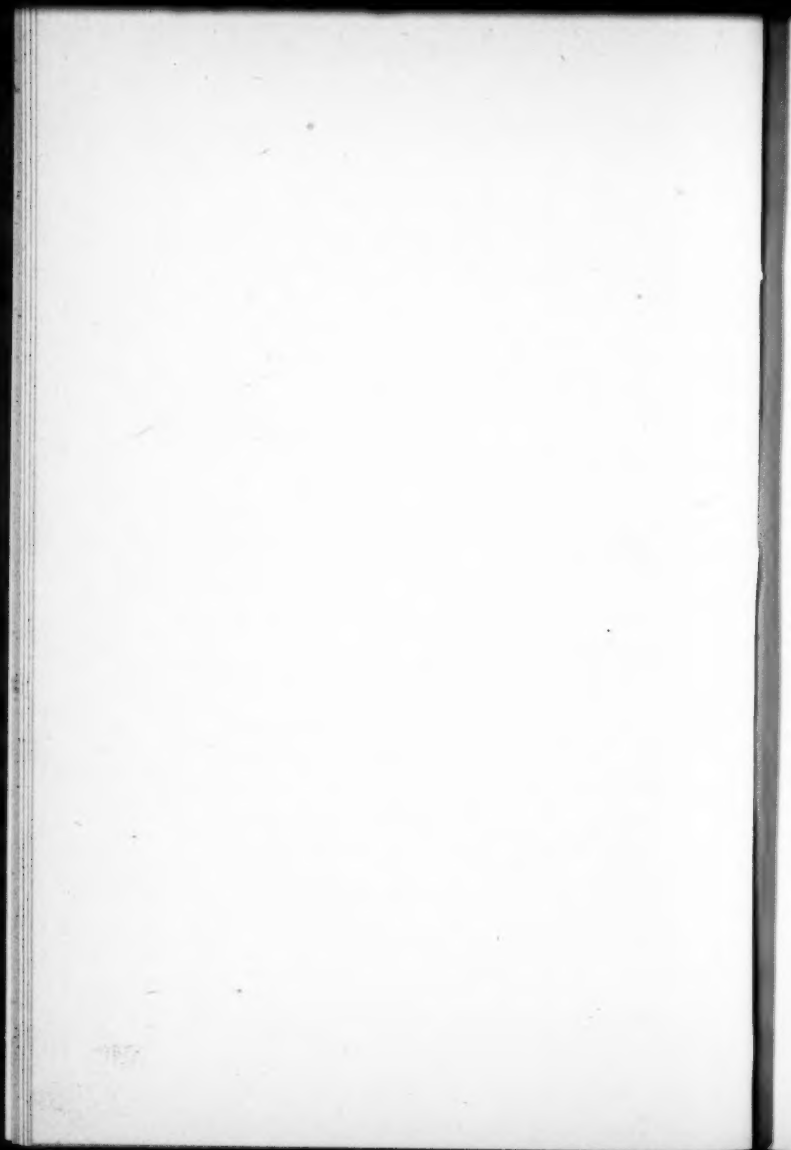
7. The three federations engage to give one another mutually, through the organ of the international secretariat, all useful information as to their organization and their activity, that they may succeed in drawing ever closer the bonds which unite them.

We are witnessing here the beginning of a movement which promises to be important. As yet, no doubt, we have but some twenty thousand Christian unionists of different countries uniting, but it is likely that the workers of other trades—by degrees as their unionistic and national enrollment grows stronger—will follow this example. Therein lies a social phenomenon, the gravity of which certainly does not need to be underlined.

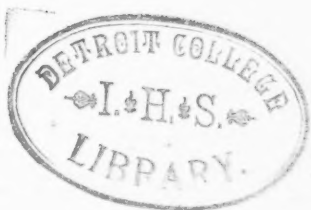
QUESTIONS ACTUELLES.

7





The Ethics of Fish-Eating



The Ethics of Fish-Eating



There are not a few of us, I fear, who as Lent draws to a close, would be glad to be persuaded upon high medical authority that the eating of fish is profoundly immoral and ought to be prohibited under legal penalties. Neither would much opposition probably be raised by the faithful at large if the law of abstinence, like the Vaccination Act, were declared not to be binding on those who had conscientious objections. In view of this infirmity of human nature, Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson's attack upon the practice of fish-eating in the Catholic Church,* appearing as it does in the height of the penitential season, may be said to be well timed. But however willing one might be from selfish motives to believe that the prohibition of meat at stated seasons has wrought evil to the human race, Mr. Hutchinson's arguments are assuredly not such as to bring conviction to any intelligent and reflective reader. A more obviously illogical vindication of an *idée fixe* under the outward semblance of a scientific dissertation, it would be difficult to find. Still the author's professional distinctions are many, his sincerity undisputed, and his persistence really phenomenal. Hence it seems worth while to pay some little attention to the misrepresentations of the treatise in

* *On Leprosy and Fish Eating*; a statement of facts and explanations by Jonathan Hutchinson, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., LL.D., formerly President of the College of Surgeons, etc. London: Constable, 1906.

question, which will no doubt soon be taken up in many quarters as a new and conclusive proof of Catholic obscurantism.

Although no one can feel anything but respect for the zeal with which Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, during a long life, has labored to alleviate the scourge of leprosy, still that very zeal has led him into propaganda of his own distinctive idea which is by no means free from objection. Not only is Mr. Hutchinson convinced that fish-eating is the one assignable cause of leprosy, but in numberless articles and addresses, in letters written to *The Times* under such headings as "Leprosy and Roman Catholicism," and in his present volume, he insists that the Catholic Church, with her law of fasting and abstinence, has been from time immemorial the great propagator of this fell disease. Now even granting, for argument's sake, the truth of all that he is contending for, the Church can hardly be blamed because she did not, five centuries ago, observe a hygienic principle which is still completely disbelieved in by nine specialists out of ten. Mr. Hutchinson has been preaching his pet theory of fish-propagation for forty years past, and, in spite of his unwearied efforts to give it publicity, his fellow specialists will have none of it. They respect his good intentions and his devotion to the cause, but they treat the author of the theory as an amiable crank whose reiterations have grown decidedly tiresome. Even from the book just published I have not been able to discover the name of a single eminent dermatologist who adopts Mr. Hutchinson's views in the form in which he propounds them. At the most a small minority of his fellow investigators are willing to allow that the eating of badly cured fish may rank with the consumption of other putrid substances as *one* of the

causes of leprosy. When Mr. Hutchinson addresses himself to his scientific peers, he preaches to deaf ears. Whereupon—and this is a proceeding which Catholics have a right to resent—he turns round from the specialists, who will not listen, to the general public, who, in their ignorance, are prodigiously impressed by the titles of this ex-President of the College of Surgeons and, without a hint that this fundamental thesis is accepted by none of his colleagues in the medical profession, he assures the lay reader, with a great display of facts and figures, that fish-eating has been proved by him to be the one unmistakable cause of leprosy, and that the Roman Church, by encouraging fish-eating, has been for centuries the consistent enemy of hygienic progress. Mr. Hutchinson himself, be it noted, is clearly not unconscious of the ignominiousness of this appeal to the gallery, and he apologises for it tamely enough in his preface: “No pretence is made that the book has been written for medical men only, and I may confess that I am not unconscious that some apology is due to my brethren of that profession for venturing to bring before the public a question primarily of medical interest—my excuse must be the pressing importance of the subject and the shortness of human life.” (Preface, p. vi.)

Let me bring these statements to the test of fact. Happily no medical training is required to understand the evidence which lies on the surface for all who choose to look for it in the right quarter. In the year 1890 a very important special Commission was appointed to examine into the question of leprosy in India. Three eminent dermatologists were nominated by the Government and sent out from England to co-operate with three other medical men already familiar with the leper problem in

the country itself. More than a year was spent in investigation, discussion and experiment upon the spot. The Commissioners had prominently before their eyes the fish hypothesis of Mr. Hutchinson, who even at that date had been writing upon the subject in season and out of season for twenty years previously. The report of the Commissioners was published in 1893, and *The Lancet* devoted a series of leading articles to the question, from the first of which I make the following brief extract:

"In conclusion, four of the Commissioners (four out of five: one of the Commissioners had died) express their disbelief in 'any particular article of food' being a possible originator of leprosy. There is in their report a considerable mass of evidence touching this question. Especially does this evidence bear upon the alleged casual connection between the eating of fish and the prevalence of leprosy. The Commissioners thus close this branch of their inquiry: 'It will be seen from this table that 23 per cent. of well-marked lepers in these forty-seven asylums had never tasted fish,* while a very large number had only used it now and then.' A little lower down on page 344 we find these words: 'There is thus in the opinion of the Commission no doubt that the consumption

* Mr. Hutchinson disputes these results on the ground that, when he himself recently visited some of the Indian leper hospitals, he extracted by severe cross-examination an avowal of fish-eating from many patients who had previously denied it. I confess that these interrogations of a highly prejudiced questioner, carried on through an interpreter, seem to me quite as unsatisfactory, to say the least, as those of the leprosy Commissioners, several of whom had spent years in the country and knew the natives intimately. The main point is that whole classes of the population are certainly not habitual consumers of fish, while leprosy prevails amongst some of these as extensively as among other Orientals with whom it is the staple form of food.

of fish is not the cause of leprosy;’ and so (adds *The Lancet*) we would fain hope that this theory, like that of the hereditary transmission of leprosy, is decently laid to rest for ever; but it is possible, perhaps probable, that this hope is doomed to disappointment.”—*The Lancet*, April 29, 1893, p. 1006.

It might be urged, of course, that this Report was published over a dozen years ago, and that medical opinion may since then have undergone considerable modification. Is this so? Let us see. Six years after the Indian Commission of 1891 a great International Scientific Congress upon Leprosy took place in Berlin. The number of delegates, most of them specialists in dermatology, who were present and took part in the proceedings exceeded a hundred, and amongst them were included almost all the most eminent names connected for the last twenty-five years with the investigation of leprosy in every part of the world. Here, again, it will be evident to anyone who will examine the printed reports of the Conference (“*Mittheilungen und Verhandlungen der internationale wissenschaftlichen Lepra-Conferenz zu Berlin im October, 1897.*” Two vols.; a third volume was announced but apparently not published) that the fish hypothesis of leprosy found absolutely no favor whatever. Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson was unfortunately prevented by indisposition from attending in person, but he contributed a paper “On Leprosy and Its Connection With the Use of Uncooked Fish as Food,” which was read by Dr. P. Abraham in the first session of the conference. The contentions of this essay seem, so far as I can perceive, to have been simply ignored throughout the rest of the meetings. Mr. Hutchinson’s practical conclusion is summed up in his concluding sentences:

"If the food-hypothesis be the true one, all measures for the compulsory segregation of lepers are useless and cruel; the disuse of all forms of half-cured or uncooked fish is, I feel convinced, the simple measure which ought to be enforced in districts where leprosy is prevalent (*ib.* vol. ii, p. 23).

The spirit in which these recommendations were received by the deputies assembled may be judged from the formal resolutions which were passed almost unanimously at the close of the conference. In these resolutions no reference of any sort was made to the question of food, but, in direct contradiction to Mr. Hutchinson's view, it was decided that isolation was the best means of preventing the spread of the disease, and it was strongly urged that all countries in which the leprosy question was one of serious importance, should adopt the system of obligatory notification, medical surveillance and isolation which had been followed in Norway with such excellent results (*ib.* vol. ii. p. 194).

That no serious change of opinion has occurred among specialists since 1897 may be excellently illustrated by a discussion which took place at two meetings of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, May 27 and June 10, 1902. Mr. Hutchinson read a paper expounding his usual hypothesis; but, in the discussion which followed, not one single voice among the ten eminent authorities who commented upon the paper was raised in support of the fish theory. Dr. A. Hansen, admittedly the first authority upon leprosy now living, had come all the way from Norway to attend the meeting, and it was he who led the opposition, insisting in unequivocal terms that "fish-eating did not meet the facts of the case." (See *The Lancet*, June 14, 1902, p. 1691.)

Still more recent is a discussion on leprosy which occurred on July 31, 1903, at a meeting of the British Medical Association, in which Mr. Hutchinson again read a paper in support of his view, and incidentally "drew attention to the prevalence of leprosy in Roman Catholic communities owing to the fast days imposed." Once more there was a discussion, in which out of seven or eight speakers no disputant declared himself in favor of the fish hypothesis, while some extremely strong expressions of opinion were recorded against it. (See *The Lancet*, August 22, 1903, p. 544.)

A careful reading of Mr. Hutchinson's new book reveals at almost every turn how little support his views have met from other specialists. On page 7 he names four of the most eminent investigators in Norway, all of whom reject the fish theory. On p. 244 we have mention of the three most distinguished specialists in Russia who are equally unsympathetic. (Cf. p. 242.)

It is very intelligible that after a series of experiences of this sort Mr. Hutchinson should turn from the medical experts who give him such cold welcome to the general reader who will not ask inconvenient questions about the lepra bacillus, but will be deeply impressed by his numerous maps, showing the red-spotted leprosy districts in close contiguity to the strongly marked outline of coast or waterway, all duly suggestive of a fish diet. Mr. Hutchinson very curiously complains that although his views "have been frequently repeated not only in medical periodicals, but in the world-read columns of *The Times*, no serious answer to them has been attempted." A more astounding statement never was made. In the January of last year, for example, the most eminent of living specialists in leprosy, Dr. Arnauer Hansen, himself the

discoverer of the lepra bacillus, published an article in *The Scottish Medical Journal*, which formally undertook to show that Mr. Hutchinson's fish theory was absolutely inconsistent with the facts which have been carefully observed and recorded in Norway for the last fifty years. (*The Scottish Medical and Surgical Journal*, January, 1905.) Again, in April, 1903, Dr. George Pernet, an assistant editor of the periodical *Lepra*, and one of the best known dermatologists of the present day, published a signed article on Leprosy in *The Quarterly Review*. It will dispense me from more elaborate argumentation if I quote from it the following passage:

"The theory, also one of long standing, that leprosy arises from eating bad fish, has practically only one supporter left (i.e., Mr. Hutchinson, who is afterwards named). That bad food, whether fish, flesh, or fowl, may play an important part in the production of the disease by diminishing the resisting powers of the individual and inducing toxic conditions of the system, everybody will allow. Moreover, fish or any other article of diet may produce leprosy, provided bacillus exists in such food, but, so far, it has not been known to do so. Much has been made of the fact that leprosy frequently occurs along sea coasts and near rivers; but this is equally favorable to the theory of contagion, for it must not be forgotten that rivers and oceans are natural channels of communication; and in new countries the sea coast and the banks of rivers are among the first places to be settled. As well might plague be attributed to a similar cause, because its first appearance in a country is generally made in a seaport. Leprosy, moreover, flourishes in mountainous districts and on arid plateaux, as well as on the seashore and the banks of rivers. It may also be pointed out that, on

the one hand, leprosy has been observed among those who do not eat fish, and on the other, that the fish-eaters are not specially affected. The people of Chile, for instance, who are stated to consume a great deal of fish, appear to be free from the disease (*Quarterly Review*, vol. 197, p. 400). The fish theory [concludes Dr. Pernet] is not supported by a single positive fact, nor has it found favor with those who have given special attention to the disease in its native haunts."

This article, which in a later passage several times mentions Mr. Hutchinson by name, surely deserves to be called a serious answer. In point of fact, it is hardly possible to take up a recent volume of any medical journal without finding a flat contradiction of one or other of the many allegations upon which Mr. Hutchinson bases his case. For instance, our theorist admits that leprosy has disappeared from the Orkneys though the inhabitants still live almost entirely on fish, but this he asserts is due to the fact that the fish is now properly cured and is never eaten putrid. But in a most interesting letter published in *The British Medical Journal* for November 28, 1903, a medical man resident in the Orkneys flatly contradicts Mr. Hutchinson's statement. He says, for instance:

"Large quantities of cod and haddock are simply cleaned and then hung in the open air to be used as required. After a few days they become quite unmistakably putrid. They are then known as "sour cod," and in this condition are greatly relished. . . . There is a lot of cured fish prepared in Orkney and Shetland, but the greater part of this goes South, while the uncured and decomposing fish is eaten locally."

In the meantime all are agreed that no case of leprosy has occurred in Orkney or Shetland in living memory.

Surely this may be called a "serious answer." Indeed it deserves to be styled an almost conclusive refutation of Mr. Hutchinson's hypothesis.

Seeing, then, that no vestige of probability attaches to the theory that leprosy is due to fish-eating, it becomes a little superfluous to dilate upon the various innuendos which our reformer directs against the Catholic Church on the ground of its encouragement of abstinence. Still one or two of Mr. Hutchinson's pet fancies are so characteristic of his recklessness of assertion and looseness of reasoning that I cannot conclude without touching upon them. Some six separate times in the course of his volume Mr. Hutchinson contrasts the action of the Roman Communion and the Orthodox Greek Church in their relation to leprosy. Leprosy prevailed, he says, everywhere throughout Europe in the Middle Ages except in the heart of Russia. "The suggested explanation of this," he adds, "is, that while Roman Catholicism and its numerous fasts made a supply of cured fish a necessity to the rest of Europe, the Greek Church, which prevailed in Russia and observed the same fasts, forbade the eating of fish as well as of flesh meat." This statement that fish is forbidden in the Russian fasts is repeated again and again, and is held to explain the fact that at the present day the bulk of lepers in the Baltic provinces of Russia are Protestants. But what is the truth about the Russian system of fasting? I quote the following passage from a recent and most authoritative work on Russia by M. Leroy Beaulieu, Membre de l'Institut:

"All through the four fasts or lents meat is entirely forbidden, so are milk, butter and eggs. Few things are allowed except fish and vegetables, under a sky which

ripens few kinds of vegetables. Russians, therefore, are, to a great extent, an ichthyophagous people. Although the rivers and sea abound in fish, so that few countries in the world, with the exception of China, derive so great a portion of their food from the watery element, the fisheries of the Volga and the Don of the White and Caspian Seas are inadequate to the consumption. The herring and the cod are a large item in the diet of the people.”*

M. Leroy Beaulieu adds that at certain seasons “the more devout forego even fish,” but surely the more devout do not form the bulk of the people. It is not of them that there is question here. Hence it appears that when Mr. Hutchinson assumes that throughout the Russian Empire during the four fasts and on the two weekly abstinence days no fish is eaten, he is just as wide of the mark as when he assumes that in Spain, Portugal and the Spanish-American colonies the whole population, regardless of the “*Bulas de Carnes*,” make it a matter of conscience to eat fish on all Fridays throughout the year. His whole conception of the Catholic standpoint with regard to abstinence is perfectly ludicrous. No one who gives the matter a moment’s serious thought can doubt that in Catholic countries, for one instance in which decomposing fish is eaten from a religious motive, there are at least a thousand in which dire necessity has driven the poor to this, simply because it is for them the only attainable form of animal food.

* Leroy-Beaulieu (membre de l’Institut), “The Empire of the Tsars,” English translation, Vol. III, p. 112. Those who wish to study this question further may be referred to H. C. Romanoff, “Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church,” p. 121.

Similarly Mr. Hutchinson in another passage institutes a comparison between the practice of Catholics and Mohammedans, again, of course, greatly to the disadvantage of the former. "There are many facts on record," he says, "which imply that Moslems are comparatively free from leprosy, while Catholics suffer in great excess," the reason being that "while the one faith (the Catholic) offers direct inducements to consume fish, the other has an opposite tendency." But a witness, Dr. Neuman, at the Berlin Congress of 1897, reporting upon the prevalence of leprosy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where Mohammedans, Greeks and Catholics are almost equally numerous, reports that the Moslems have the largest, the Greeks the next, and the Catholics the smallest proportion of lepers ("Mittheilungen" ii, pp. 29-30), and in a recent number of *The British Medical Journal* we find such a statement as the following made by a medical man resident in Cairo:

"In Mr. Hutchinson's reply to comments on his fish-eating theory of leprosy he makes the following statement: 'In Egypt, under religions which discourage fish-eating, the disease, in spite of absolute neglect of segregation, has almost died out.' I do not know what Mr. Hutchinson's authority for this statement may be, but it is altogether misleading. It is true that the eating of preserved fish (*fisikh*) is discouraged by certain Mohammedan sects, but this is in theory only; in practice fish-eating is all but universal among the poorer classes (*British Medical Journal*, October 31, 1903, p. 1183. Letter from C. Goodman, Cairo).

In conclusion let us notice that the whole tendency of modern expert opinion is to insist upon the necessity of segregation. This was the policy adopted in the Middle

Ages and supported by the authority of Papal bulls. The isolation of leprosy may not have been very severely enforced, but it appears to have been sufficient for its purpose. Even Mr. Hutchinson, though he insists upon the services which the Reformation rendered, and seemingly wishes to connect the decline of leprosy with John Wiclif, does not dispute that this terrible disease, which was at its height in the thirteenth century, was virtually extinct in England before the change of religion. We have, then, every reason to be grateful to the Catholic Church for her action in building and maintaining the innumerable leper hospitals of old times. And as for the harmlessness of fish-eating, no better testimony could be found than the fact that among the Carthusians, Cistercians, Dominicans, etc., of that age, who never tasted meat, an outbreak of leprosy among the religious themselves is practically unheard of.

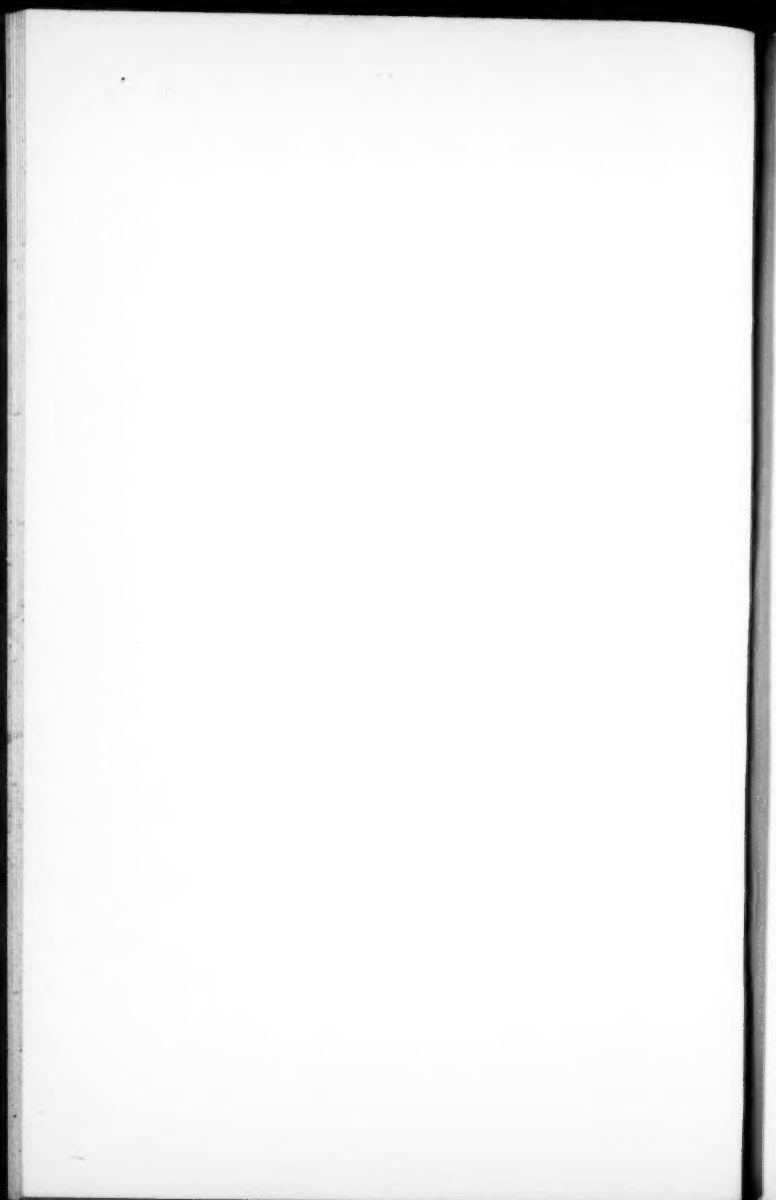
HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.,
in the *London Tablet*.



Catechism

I.

LEGISLATION AND TEXTS



Catechism

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF LEGISLATION, TEXTS, AND METHODS (1)

THE mission of the Church is to teach mankind. That mission she fulfils by preaching. Preaching produces little fruit unless it is adapted to the capacity of the audience. No science can be effectually taught unless the teacher begins by instruction in its first principles. Those who have not mastered these principles are incapable of profiting by higher instruction. Instruction in the science of faith and morals is no exception to this rule. Hence, the Council of Trent laid on all pastors of souls the obligation of preaching and of catechizing. Hence, too, the Pope, who now so wisely rules the Church, has reminded pastors of this two-fold obligation, and in particular of the obligation of catechizing. To ignorance of the elementary truths of religion, the Holy Father attributes the spirit of indifference and of irreligion to-day so widespread. Therefore, he regards instruction in Christian Doctrine as one of

(1) Sources: *Histoire du Catechisme depuis la Naissance de l'Eglise jusqu'à nos jours*, par M. l'Abbé Hezard. Paris: Retaux, 1900.—Hefelé, *Histoire des Conciles*.—Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*. Third edition. Paris, 1903.—*Acta et Decreta S. Concilii Vaticani, Collectio Lacensis*, Vol. VII.—Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*.—*Histoire des livres populaires, ou de la littérature de Colportage*, par Charles Nissard. Paris, 1854.—Migne, *Patres Latini*, Vols. XCVIII and CI.—Dom Gasquet, "Religious Instruction in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Dublin Review*, October, 1893.—"How Our Fathers Were Taught in Catholic Days," *Dublin Review*, April, 1897.—Mgr. Dupanloup, *Entretiens sur la prédication populaire*. Paris, 1866.—*Compendio della dottrina cristiana prescritto di SS. Papa Pio X.* Roma, 1905.

the most important duties of pastors, and as one of the most pressing needs of the Church. It may, then, be of interest at the present time to study the history of catechism, and to examine, first, what has been the legislation of the Church on the subject of instruction in Christian Doctrine; secondly, what texts have been made use of at various periods, in imparting that instruction; and, thirdly, what methods have been followed for the efficient communication of religious knowledge.

I.

What has been the legislation of the Church with respect to instruction in Christian Doctrine? The primitive Church had to convert a world which was pagan. The mode of dealing with converts was fixed by a custom which had the force of law. Aspirants to Baptism were obliged to pass through the catechumenate. Catechumens were permitted to be present at the instructions in the church. After a period of probation, they were enrolled amongst the candidates qualified for Baptism, and then they received a special course of religious instruction to prepare them for that sacrament. The law of the catechumenate continued in force until the seventh century. With the spread of religion a new order began to prevail. The Church had to deal no longer with converts, but with the children of the faithful baptized in infancy. What rules did she prescribe for the religious instruction of youth? St. Bede is a witness to the practices of the eighth century.(1) "Priests," he says, in a letter to the Bishop of York, "should be appointed in every village to instruct the people in the Lord's Prayer and the Creed." The synod of Cloveshoe,

(1) Migne, *Patres Latini*, Vol. XCVIII, col. 939.

in 747, decreed that the system of instruction recommended by St. Bede should be faithfully followed. The Capitularies of Charlemagne in the ninth century urge pastors to instruct their flocks, and remind parents of the duty of instructing their children in the truths of faith. A synod held in Dublin, in 1186, ordered that the children be assembled at the church door on Sundays to receive instruction.(1)

The synod of Beziers, in 1246, and that of Albi, in 1254, decreed that on all Sundays parish priests should explain the articles of the Creed in a clear and simple style. They decreed, moreover, that children from the age of seven should be brought to church on Sundays and festivals, to be taught the *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Credo*. In 1281, the synod of Lambeth commanded pastors to give instruction in Christian Doctrine, and to repeat the same four times a year.

"We order [says the synod] that every priest in charge of a flock, do four times a year, on one or more solemn festivals, either personally or by some one else, instruct the people in the vulgar tongue, simply and without any admixture of subtle distinctions, in the fourteen articles of the Creed, the Ten Commandments of the Decalogue, the two precepts of the Gospel that is of true charity, the Seven Deadly Sins with their offshoots the Seven Principal Virtues, and the Seven Sacraments."(2)

The synod of Ely, in 1364, ordered parish priests to preach frequently, and to explain the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and see that children were taught the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Hail Mary, and the Sign of the Cross.(3) In the early years of the

(1) Hefelé, *Histoire des Conciles*, Vol. VII, p. 523.

(2) Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, Vol. II, p. 54.

(3) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 59.

fifteenth century the synod of Tortosa (1429), in Spain, directed that bishops should draw up abridgments of Christian Doctrine so arranged that the text might be explained in seven or eight lessons; and it commanded parish priests to explain the same to the people several times a year on Sundays and festivals. The synod of Toledo, in 1473, ordered that the Sundays from Septuagesima to Passiontide be devoted to the explanation of the text of the catechism.

In the sixteenth century, the Council of Trent deemed the teaching of catechism worthy of its attention, and in its twenty-fourth session, 11th November, 1563, it decreed as follows:—

“They (Bishops) shall also take care, that, at least on Sundays and other festivals, the children in every parish shall be diligently taught, by those to whom that duty belongs, the rudiments of faith, and obedience to God and to their parents, and, if need be, they shall enforce this obligation even by ecclesiastical censures.”(1)

The legislation of the Council was obeyed. St. Charles Borromeo, so zealous for every work of reform, set the example. He instituted confraternities to teach Christian Doctrine, and drew up wise rules for their guidance. The bishops in other countries were not slow to follow. In Ireland the days of persecution had already commenced, but in those sad days the importance of teaching Christian Doctrine was not allowed to be forgotten. A synod of the province of Tuam, in 1630, decreed that parish priests, obliged as they were to move about from place to place, and to depend on the hospitality of their people, should catechize the family of every house where

(1) *Canones et Decreta Conc. Trid.*, Sess. XXIV, cap. iv.

they should spend the night.(1) A synod of the same province, held in 1632, exhorted priests to catechize on Sundays and festivals. A synod of the province of Armagh, in 1660,(2) decreed that all parish priests should preach or catechize on Sundays and holidays, under penalty of a fine of five shillings of English money for each omission, and privation of benefice *ipso facto* should the omission be continued for ten consecutive weeks. Another synod of the same province, held in 1687, enacted that pastors negligent in fulfilling the duty of giving instruction should be suspended; and that a duly qualified assistant be given to incompetent pastors. A synod of the province of Cashel, in 1782, ordered that catechism be taught on Sundays and festivals either in the English or Irish tongue, according to the requirements of the congregation.

The zeal of bishops and of local synods was stimulated from time to time by the action of the Popes. Clement VII, in an Encyclical dated 15th July, 1598, urged the importance of teaching Christian Doctrine. Benedict XIV, in a letter dated 7th February, 1742, reminded all pastors of the necessity of instruction in catechism. Succeeding pontiffs were no less earnest. Pius IX spoke in the most emphatic terms of the necessity of catechetical instruction. In our own days Pius X, in an Encyclical dated 15th April, 1905, has renewed the precept imposed by the Council of Trent. He commands—(1) That the children shall be instructed in Christian Doctrine for a full hour on all Sundays and holidays throughout the year; (2) that they shall be prepared for Confession and for Confirmation by special discourses on

(1) Renehan's *Collection, Archbishops*, p. 491.

(2) Moran, *Memoirs of Primate Plunkett*, p. 386.

several days; (3) that children shall be prepared for First Communion by daily instruction during Lent, and, if need be, after Easter; (4) that Confraternities of Christian Doctrine shall be established in every parish; (5) that in cities where universities or higher schools exist, courses of higher religious instruction shall be established; (6) that a course of catechetical instruction for adults be given in churches according to the plan marked out by the Catechism of the Council of Trent.(1)

II.

Such, in outline, has been the legislation of the Church on the subject of catechetical instruction. Let us now pass on to examine what have been the texts or formulas on which that instruction has been based.

In the early Church the art of printing was unknown; the art of writing and reading was an accomplishment possessed by relatively few. Instruction, therefore, was necessarily oral. And this is the true meaning of the word catechism. In recent times the term has been applied to books containing the elements of knowledge; but in its primary sense, catechism is instruction given by word of mouth. But the matter of elementary oral instruction was not left to chance. The elements of religious knowledge were imparted according to a well defined plan. New converts aspiring to be admitted to the ranks of catechumens were first taught the existence of God, the fact of Revelation, the history of religion, the Incarnation, the establishment of the Church, and the doctrine of the Resurrection. They were forewarned

(1) For a modification of these rules to suit the condition of things in Ireland, see *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, December, 1905.

of the temptations to which they might be exposed by scandals within and without the Church. When the time approached for the reception of Baptism they were instructed in the articles of the Creed and taught the Lord's Prayer. They were taught, too, the obligation of observing the divine law, and avoiding the vices which it condemns. After Baptism the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist was explained to them. All this is manifest from the *Didache* or *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, from the treatise of St. Augustine, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, from the *Catacheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and from the seventh book of the Apostolic Constitution. Thus, from the earliest times, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and the prevalent vices opposed to them, together with the doctrine of the Sacraments, formed the text of catechetical instruction.

In course of time compendiums were made of a full course of catechism, as an aid to teachers and learners. Amongst such collections that attributed to Alcuin, and used in the school of the Palace in the reign of Charlemagne, holds a prominent place. Its title is *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*.⁽¹⁾ It treats, under the form of question and answer, of the work of the six days of Creation, of the six ages of the world, of the Old and New Testaments, of the Church, with its hierarchy, and the doctrine of the Mass. The *Disputatio* long served as the type of a catechism for the instruction of youth. Two centuries later St. Bruno of Wurtzburg made it the basis of a catechism for his diocese. Nor was the *Disputatio* the only catechism of the period. That of Kero, a monk of St. Gall's, in the eighth century, no doubt an echo of the practice of Ire-

(1) Migne, *Patres Latini*, Vol. CI, col. 1098-1144.

land, and that of Olfried, in the ninth century, are also deserving of mention.

In the twelfth century Honoratus of Autun wrote a summary of Christian Doctrine, in the form of question and answer, entitled *Elucidarium sive dialogus de Summa totius Christianae Theologiae*.⁽¹⁾ The *Elucidarium*, though open to criticism, was highly esteemed, and was translated into French and Italian. An early French edition, published at Lyons in 1480, bears on the first page the following appreciation: "Ung tres singulier et profitable livre appellé le Lucydaire; auquel sont declarées toutes les choses ou antendement humain peut douter touchant la foy Catholique. Et aussi y sont contenues les peines d'enfer," in fol. goth. 37 ff, 2 col. 26.⁽²⁾

In the thirteenth century the taste for contrasts created by the works of Hugh of St. Victor, *De quinque septenis seu septenariis*, and by the *De septem septenariis* of John Salisbury, made itself felt in the form of catechetical instruction. All the catechisms of that period treat of the seven petitions of the *Pater*, the seven Sacraments, the seven deadly sins, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the seven principal virtues. The Creed was sometimes treated as consisting of two series of seven articles, seven relative to the Divinity, and seven to the Humanity, of Christ. A catechism published in France in 1279, and entitled *Somme-le-Roi* is arranged on this plan. Nor was this method confined to France. The decree of the synod of Lambeth, 1281, above quoted, directs pastors to teach the fourteen articles of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven Sacraments, and the seven principal virtues. One of the earliest books

(1) *Ibid.*, Vol. CLXXIV, col. 1109-1176.

(2) Brunet, *Bibliographie*.

printed in England by Caxton, in 1484, was an edition of this catechism, with the title, *The Royal Book*.

In the fourteenth century the *Somme-le-Roi* was, to a certain extent, supplanted by a work of Guy de Montrocher, bearing the title, *Manipulus Curatorum*. The first and second part of this work treated of pastoral duties, the third of catechetical instruction. The points treated were the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, the feasts of the Church, the works of mercy, and the Beatitudes.

In the fifteenth century, the celebrated Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, published a short treatise which, to a large extent, eclipsed its predecessors. It bore the title, *Opusculum Tripartitum de praeceptis Decalogi, de Confessione et de Arte moriendi*. In the first part the articles of the Creed were explained; the second treated of the sins to be mentioned in confession; the third part consisted of exhortations appropriate to the dying. In a short preface the author states that he composed this little treatise that pastors might have something solid and practical to read to their people on Sundays and festivals, to teach them for what end and by whom they were created, moreover, what they are bound by the divine law to believe, to do, or to avoid, and how to arise from sin. The catechism of Gerson was long held in esteem in France; and the bishops had it inserted in their rituals and ordered the parish priests to read it for the people at Mass on Sundays and festivals(1)

The spread of the art of printing gave a new impulse to the production and diffusion of catechetical literature. Popular books with illustrations were printed for the use of the rural population. One of the most celebrated

(1) Joannis Gersonis, *Opera Omnia*. Antwerp, 1706, Vol. I, pp. 426-450.

of those popular catechisms was the *Compost et Calendrier des bergiers*, or Shepherd's Almanack, published in 1492.(1) It was divided into three parts. The first part contained the calendar, with the changes of the moon, a list of festivals, and the like. The second part treated of the "Arbre des vices et Miroir des pecheurs," that is, an enumeration of the seven deadly sins, which are the trunks from which innumerable branches spring; all united in one root, pride, and forming a tree. Then follows a description of the pains of hell, such as Lazarus was represented to have described to Simon the Pharisee. The third part treats of the science of salvation, namely, the *Pater*, *Ave*, the Creed, and the Commandments of God and of the Church; it also includes the garden of virtues, moral and theological, and points out how they may be practised. The text was throughout ornamented with plates illustrating its meaning. The book concluded with an enumeration of the symptoms of good and bad health, and the rules for bleeding. One can easily see how much solid instruction was here presented in a popular and attractive form.

The fifteenth century was prolific in popular books of this class. Amongst them may be mentioned *Le Tresor des humains*, 1482; *L'Ordinaire des Chrestiens*, 1464; *L'Art de bien vivre, et de bien mourir*, 1492, the first part of which is a catechism arranged according to the plan of Septenaries. To this period belongs the *Speculum Christianorum*, composed by the monks of St. Victor. It treats of (1) what a Christian must do, and what he must avoid; (2) the truths he must believe; (3) of the

(1) *Histoire des livres populaires, ou de la littérature de colportage depuis le XV siècle*, 2 vols., par Charles Nissard. Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 108-150.

seven petitions of the *Pater*, the seven prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin, the seven virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven Beatitudes; (4) of the things on which a Christian should meditate, namely, the Passion, Sin, the Pains of Hell, and the Joys of Heaven.

At the same period appeared a book of like character in English, called *Dives et Pauper*, "a compendious treatise or dialogue of Dives and Pauper, that is to say, the rich and poor, fructuously treating upon the Ten Commandments." (1) This interesting work appeared in manuscript in the early part of the fifteenth century. Printed editions of it were published in 1493, 1496, and 1536. Pauper, or the poor man, acts the part of teacher in the dialogue, and gives to Dives, or the rich man, a full and practical explanation of the entire matter of the Decalogue.

The so-called reformers knew the value of popular books of instruction. Luther's catechism was published in 1520, that of Calvin in 1536. The Zurich catechism followed in 1639, and that of Heidelberg in 1563. To meet the danger arising from books of this class, the Council of Trent wisely legislated on the subject of catechetical instruction. Before that assembly had brought its labors to a close a celebrated German Jesuit, Blessed Peter Canisius, published in the Latin language at Vienna, in 1554, a catechism under the title, *Summa Doctrinae Christianae*. By order of Ferdinand I, King of the Romans, the catechism of Canisius was adopted as the text-book for religious instruction throughout Germany. The zealous and saintly author made two abbre-

(1) See an article in the *Dublin Review*, April, 1897, by the Right Rev. Abbot Gasquet: "How Our Fathers Were Taught in Catholic Days."

viations of his *Summa*, to which he gave the name *Parvus Catechismus*. The first edition of this compendium appeared in 1556. Numerous editions followed. The little catechism was translated into many languages. St. Charles Borromeo made it a text-book in his seminary. English editions of the catechism of Canisius were published at Louvain, in 1567; at Paris, in 1588; London, 1590; Edinburgh, 1591; Cambridge, 1595; St. Omer's, 1622; London, 1623. A Welsh translation was printed in Paris, in 1609.(1) To the present day the catechism of Canisius is held in high esteem in Germany. The preservation of the faith in that country in the sixteenth century is largely due to the solid instruction it contains.

The Fathers of the Council of Trent, convinced of the importance of catechetical instruction, appointed a committee of the most learned and experienced ecclesiastics of the time, to draw up a catechism to serve as a guide to pastors in imparting religious instruction. The labors of the committee were embodied in the *Catechismus Romanus*, or Roman Catechism, which was approved and published by Pius V.

At the request of Clement VIII, the learned Cardinal Bellarmine made a compendium of the Roman catechism, which was published with the approval of that Pope, 15th July, 1598. Bellarmine's catechism was still further abridged, by the author, and quickly spread throughout Christendom. It was translated into fifty-six different languages. Editions of it in English were published at Douay, 1604; Rome, 1678; without press mark in 1680; and in London, 1839. An Irish translation of Bellar-

(1) Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, arts. "Canisius," "Bellarmine."

mine's catechism was issued by the Propaganda Press in 1628, and again in 1707. Father Theobald Stapelton published it in Latin and in Irish at Brussels, in 1639, the Irish text being in Roman characters. A Welsh translation was printed at St. Omer's in 1618.

The catechism of Bellarmine, by its simplicity, its order, and its diffusion, marks an epoch in catechetical literature. It has served as the type of catechisms since his day. Zealous prelates in various kingdoms imitated the example of Bellarmine, and published catechisms for the instruction of their subjects. Amongst them Bossuet holds a prominent place. That great man, who could rise to the highest heights of eloquence, could also adapt himself to the simplest intelligence. For the instruction of his flock, he published a catechism in three parts. The first, or elementary catechism, was destined for children preparing for Confirmation. The second part was more developed, and was destined for the instruction of those about to receive First Communion. The third part contained an explanation of the festivals of the Church throughout the year. Bossuet encouraged other writers capable of promoting the instruction of youth, and to his advice and persuasion we are indebted for the historical catechism of Fleury.

Nor were Irish ecclesiastics less active than those of other countries, in rendering the text of the catechism accessible to their people. Besides the Irish translation of Bellarmine's catechism, above referred to, many other Irish catechisms were published since the sixteenth century.

First amongst them stands the Irish catechism composed by Primate Creagh while a prisoner in the Tower of London, in 1585. In 1608, Bonaventure O'Hussey, an

Irish Franciscan, published at Louvain a catechism in Irish, which was reprinted at Antwerp, in 1611, and 1616, and at Rome in 1707. In 1612, Father O'Hussey published a poetical edition of his catechism in two hundred and forty verses. In 1660, an Irish priest, over the signature D. D., J. D., V.G., T.S.T.D., which has been interpreted, "Dom D. Joannes Dowley, Vic.-Gen., Tuamensis, S. Theologiae Doctor," published a catechism in prose and verse—the latter at least being that of O'Hussey—a work which was reprinted at Louvain, in 1728. Another Irish Franciscan, Francis O'Mulloy, published at Rome a catechism in Irish with a Latin title, *Lucerna Fidelium*. When the editions of these catechisms were exhausted, Dr. Andrew Donlevy, Superior of the Junior Division of the Irish College in Paris, published in that city, in 1742, a catechism in Irish and English, remarkable for its fulness and clearness. Donlevy's catechism was reprinted in Dublin, in 1822, under editorship of Rev. John M'Encroe, subsequently Dean of Sydney; and again by the firm of Duffy & Co., in 1848.

In 1749, the Most Rev. Michael O'Reilly, Bishop of Derry, and subsequently Primate of all Ireland, published a catechism in Irish and in English, which was generally adopted in Ulster, and the English edition of which was in general use in the province of Armagh until 1875. Dr. Nary, of Dublin, published a catechism in English for the use of his parish in 1720. Dr. De Burgo, O.P., published an English catechism at Lisbon, in 1752. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, Dr. James Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, published a catechism in English. Of this catechism, Dr. Troy, in a letter dated 30th October, 1777, stated that he "thought it peculiarly

calculated to promote the Christian Doctrine among the lower classes of the people." (1)

Butler's catechism was translated into Irish by his successor, Dr. Bray, for the use of those unacquainted with English. The English edition of Butler's catechism has practically superseded all others in Ireland. A new edition of it, with some modifications whereby the substance of each question is repeated in the answer, was published after the synod of Maynooth in 1875, and is now the catechism in general use throughout Ireland. Some other Irish prelates also published diocesan catechisms. Amongst them may be mentioned Dr. M'Kenna and Dr. Coppinger, of Cloyne and Ross; Dr. O'Reilly and Dr. MacHale of Tuam, whose Irish catechism is well known in the Western Province.

So many editions of the catechism in various countries are a proof of the zeal of the bishops. But the multiplication of texts was not without inconveniences. Differences of arrangement, and in form of expression, were inevitable. Some editors aimed at a theological exposition, where simplicity would have been more appropriate. Important points were occasionally omitted and unimportant questions introduced. Sometimes, too, an excess of rigor appeared in the statement of doctrine or of moral obligations. Moreover, the face of the world had been changing. More than in ancient times men pass in large numbers from one country to another. Finding the Christian Doctrine explained in their new abodes in a different order from that to which they had been accustomed, emigrants were, to some extent, embarrassed. The clergy were no less perplexed in dealing with them.

(1) *Renahan's Archbishops*, p. 355.

Gradually a desire sprang up in various quarters for the adoption of a universal catechism.

Provincial Councils discussed the subject. The synod of Vienna in 1858, of Prague in 1860, of Cologne in 1863, gave expression to the desire that a common text should be adopted. When the Vatican Council assembled in 1869, one of the subjects proposed for its consideration was the adoption of a universal catechism. A *schema* was submitted to the Fathers of the Council proposing for adoption the Latin text of Bellarmine's catechism: to be translated into the vernacular by the bishops of the various countries. The question was discussed in four General Congregations. The German bishops were reluctant to abandon the catechism of Canisius.(1) Mgr. Hefelé read a Memorandum by Cardinal Raucher, in which his Eminence pointed out the difficulties which a change of catechism might create in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in consequence of the approval by the government of the catechism then in use. The Archbishop of Avignon, and some other French prelates, put forward similar objections to a change of catechism in France. At length in the fifty-first General Congregation an amended *schema* was submitted for discussion. It proposed that the Pope should publish an universal catechism in Latin, based on that of Bellarmine and other approved catechisms; that the bishops in each country should publish a translation of the Papal catechism in the vulgar tongue; and that they should be free to add such explanation as they might deem necessary to refute local errors, provided the additions were made in such a way as not to be confounded with the text.

(1) Emilie Ollivier, *L'église et l'état au Concile du Vatican*, Vol. II, p. 262.

On 4th May, 1870, the amended scheme was submitted for discussion. Five hundred and ninety-one Fathers were present. Of these 491 voted *Placet*, fifty-six *Non Placet*, and forty-four *Placet juxta modum*. By this vote the principle of a universal text was adopted. But the question of Papal Infallibility was pressing for decision, and before that of the catechism could be reached the Council was adjourned. But the idea of a universal text had not been allowed to perish. In 1875, the Bishops of Ireland adopted a common text for the whole country. The Bishops of the United States, assembled at Baltimore in 1884, recommended the use of a common text in America. The Council of Latin America, held in Rome in 1900, adopted a similar resolution. Last of all, in a letter dated 15th July, 1905, addressed to the Cardinal Vicar, his Holiness Pope Pius X has ordered the adoption of a uniform text of catechism in Rome, and in the suburban dioceses, and has expressed a desire that the same text shall be adopted in the other dioceses throughout Italy. By the adoption of a common text, unity of doctrine is better preserved, emigrants from one country to another are more easily instructed, and the encroachments of error are more easily guarded against.

The catechism now published by order of the Holy Father deserves more than a passing notice. It bears the title *Compendio della dottrina cristiana*, (1) or Compendium of Christian Doctrine. It contains three parts. The first part, the child's catechism, extends over three chapters and nine pages. The second part, or short catechism, in sixty-five pages, contains five sections which treat of Faith, Prayer, the Commandments and Sins, the Sacraments, and the Theological Virtues. Then follows

(1) Roma, Tipografia Vaticana, 1905.

the larger catechism with a similar division. The first part treats of the articles of the Creed, and under the ninth article, six sections are devoted to the Church—(1) the Church in general; (2) the Catholic Church; (3) the teaching Church and the Church taught; (4) the Pope and the Bishops; (5) the Communion of Saints; (6) those without the Church. In the fourth part, which treats of the Sacraments, under Penance, a section is devoted to explain the doctrine of Indulgences. Under Matrimony, the question of impediments, of civil marriage, and of divorce is treated. In the fifth part, which treats of the virtues, under Faith, a section is devoted to the explanation of the meaning of Scripture and Tradition, and to the reading of the Bible. The gifts of the Holy Ghost and the Beatitudes are also explained. To the text of the catechism are added appendices. The first of these is a catechism of the festivals of the Church, explaining the meaning of the principal feasts of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin, and of the saints. Next follows a succinct history of religion, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, and in the history of the Church up to the end of the general persecutions. Then follows a brief notice of the heresies and the general councils, together with suggestions how to study religion in the history of the Church. The little volume of 416 pages, 12mo, closes with formulas of night and morning prayers, prayers for confession and communion, and the manner of serving Mass. This admirable catechism is perhaps the presage of the universal text which, no doubt, will one day be adopted throughout the Church.

VERY REV. PATRICK BOYLE, C. M.,

In The Irish Ecclesiastical Record.



Catechism.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF LEGISLATION, TEXTS AND METHODS.

II.

METHODS.

THE history of legislation shows us the mind of the Church; that of texts shows the efforts that have been made to adopt instruction to the intelligence of the young. But legislation and texts produce little fruit, unless instruction be imparted with method. We proceed, therefore, to study the history of the methods which have been employed in catechetical instruction. In the early Church the teaching of Christian Doctrine was carried on according to a well-defined system. Before admission to the rank of catechumen, converts were taught the principal mysteries of religion. After admission they were gradually initiated in the doctrines and practices of Christianity, by assisting at the services and instructions in the Church. When their conduct gave reason to hope that they would loyally bear the yoke of Christ, they were permitted to have their names enrolled as candidates for Baptism. That Sacrament was solemnly administered at Easter and at Pentecost. At the beginning of Lent, a careful inquiry was made concerning the conduct of aspirants to Baptism. The names of those who were judged competent were then enrolled.

During the entire Lent they assembled daily in the

church to receive instruction. Here they were fully instructed in the truths of religion. From time to time the exorcisms, which now form part of the ceremonies of Baptism, were performed. As Lent advanced the text of the Creed and the *Pater* was explained, and the candidates were required to commit it to memory. This was called the *traditio symboli*. After an interval of some days they were individually examined, and made to repeat those texts. This was called the *redditio symboli*. Then they were obliged to renounce Satan, and his pomps and works; a ceremony full of meaning at a time when the attractions of the theatre, and the arena, and the circus exercised such fascination.

At length on Holy Saturday the history of religion was once more brought before them by the reading of the prophecies, which still form a part of the Office on that day. Then Baptism and Confirmation were administered, and the neophytes were admitted to Holy Communion. During the week which followed, their instruction in the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist was completed. Such, in substance, was the method of instruction, with but slight modification in detail, followed in the Eastern and Western Churches.

In the account of her pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the fourth century, given by Sylvia, a rich lady from the south of France, we have a graphic description of the manner in which religious instruction was imparted in the East. She speaks of the preliminary examination at the beginning of Lent into the conduct of aspirants to Baptism, of the testimony of their sponsors, of the enrollment of their names. Then she describes their instruction by the bishop:

"Commencing with Genesis" [she writes], "he goes

through the entire Scripture, explaining it, first literally, and then spiritually. He also explains during those days all that relates to the Resurrection and to faith. Now, this is called catechizing. When five weeks are completed from the commencement of the instruction they receive the symbol. And he gives the explanation of the symbol, first literally and then spiritually, by means of the Scriptures. In this way he expounds the symbol. And hence it comes that all the faithful in that locality understand the Scripture when it is read in the church, because they are taught it during those forty days from the first to the third hour, for the catechism lasts for three hours. . . . Then, one by one, accompanied by their sponsors, they repeat the symbol."

When Easter comes Baptism is administered, then further instruction is given.

"And as the bishop preaches and explains everything, the applause is so great as to be heard outside the church. And as in that country some of the people speak both Greek and Syriac, and some either Greek or Syriac only, hence as the bishop, though he should know Syriac, speaks only in Greek, and never in Syriac, a priest stands beside him, who interprets in Syriac what he says in Greek, so that all may understand. . . . And if there be Latins present who understand neither Greek nor Syrian, the bishop instructs them also, for there are brothers and sisters who know Greek and Latin, and who act as interpreters."(1)

The *Catechises* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, of St. Chrysostom, of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and St.

(1) *Perigrinatio Silviac*, apud Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, 3rd edit., Appendix 3, pp. 520-21.

Cæsarius of Arles, are types of the method of instruction practised in the early Church. As Fénelon justly remarks,(1) it was the greatest men that were employed to give those instructions, hence the fruit was marvellous and now seems to us almost incredible.

But besides the solemn religious instructions given as a preparation for Baptism, in certain great centres there were catechetical schools. The most remarkable of these was that of Alexandria, where Pantenus, and Clement and Origen taught. The works of Clement show what the method of instruction was. His *Exhortatio* to the Gentiles, his *Pedagogue*, his *Stromata* or miscellaneous notes, are but a summary of his oral teaching.

Such was the method of catechetical instruction in use in the Church until the seventh century. The spread of the Gospel and the disappearance of paganism introduced a new order of things. Those now requiring instruction were no longer converts, but Christians baptized in infancy. For their instruction new methods were adopted. The discipline of the secret disappears. First of all, as we learn from St. Cæsarius of Arles, parents were urged to instruct their children at home, in the dogmas and practices of religion. Sponsors were exhorted to teach their spiritual children by good example. But the duty of teaching Christian Doctrine was in a special manner urged upon the clergy. St. Bede, in a letter above referred to, addressed to Egbert, Bishop of York, exhorts him to appoint a priest in every village to instruct the people in the articles of the Creed and in the Lord's Prayer. The Synod of Cloveshoe, in 747, and of Chalcut, in 787, decreed that bishops should visit their

(1) 3 *Dialogue sur l'éloquence.*

dioceses annually; and that priests should instruct the faithful in the vulgar tongue in the Creed and the *Pater*. It is manifest, from the Capitularies and letters of Charlemagne, that in the ninth century the clergy were obliged to instruct the people in Christian Doctrine, and to assure themselves that parents and sponsors at Baptism knew the text of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. In the twelfth century, the custom was introduced, as we learn from a decree of a synod held in Dublin in 1186, of assembling the children for instruction at the church door on Sundays.

This usage appears to have been widespread. For the synod of Beziers, in 1246, and that of Albi, in 1254, command priests to explain the articles of the Creed in a clear and simple style, on Sundays and festivals. And they add, that the children shall be brought to church on Sundays and festivals to be taught the *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Credo*. The decree of the synod of Lambeth, already referred to, imposed upon priests the obligation of instructing the people in a simple style in Christian Doctrine. Other synods repeat the same injunction; and add that priests shall remind the people to instruct their children. Confessors were directed to inquire of parents in confession whether they had fulfilled that duty. From all these facts we gather that throughout the Middle Ages, from the eighth to the fifteenth century, the method of religious instruction in general use was this: children were taught the elements of religious knowledge at home; as soon as they were sufficiently advanced in age they were instructed in the church on Sundays and festivals. Moreover, the general character of parochial instruction was catechetical. Formal sermons were rare. An instance of this is to be found in one of

the earliest books published by Caxton in 1483. The book contained four discourses to be delivered to the people on Christian Doctrine. Now, the decree of Lambeth obliged the clergy to repeat those discourses four times a year. Hence we are justified in concluding that at least sixteen Sundays in each year were devoted to give to the people plain catechetical instruction. Such a method could not fail to render the faithful familiar with the dogmas and practices of religion.

The Council of Trent gave a fresh impulse to methods of religious instruction. Henceforward instruction in the schools and instruction in the church go hand in hand. The teaching of catechism in school became an established usage. But as poverty hindered many from attending school on week-days, the synod of Cambrai, 1565, decreed that school-masters should, on Sundays, after vespers, teach those unable to read; and chaplains and clerics were required to aid in the good work. The dioceses of Namur, Tournay, Arras, and St. Omer's adopted the legislation of the synod of Cambrai, then their metropolis. The synod of Malines, in 1570, urges the establishment of Sunday schools to teach the poor the catechism and the art of reading and writing. Thus two centuries before Robert Raikes organized Protestant Sunday schools in Glouster, Catholic Sunday schools were in existence. They can be traced back even to the twelfth century.

The better to carry on combined secular and religious instruction, confraternities and congregations were established to undertake the work of teaching. St. Charles Borromeo established throughout his diocese confraternities of Christian Doctrine. St. Joseph Calasantius founded an Order, named *Scolopi*, or Of the Pious Schools, to undertake the education of youth. Orders

of women, like the Ursulines, were established for the same purpose. In France the Venerable Cesar du Bus founded the Order of Christian Doctrine, which devoted itself to education. The great Society of Jesus held aloft the banner of religion in middle and higher education. St. John Baptist de la Salle founded the Order of Brothers of the Christian Schools, to instruct the humbler classes. Learned men, like Canisius, and Bellarmine, and Bossuet, endeavored to produce texts capable of being placed in the hands of children. Others, like Fleury, published text-books of the history of religion, or of the festivals of the year. Artists lent their aid, and illustrated editions of the catechism rendered the texts more interesting and instructive. In Rome an illustrated catechism was published in 1587, by Father John Baptist Romano, S.J. At Antwerp, in 1589, Christopher Plautus printed an illustrated edition of the catechism of Canisius. At Augsburg, in 1614, another edition of Canisius was published with one hundred and three woodcuts. At Antwerp another illustrated catechism, with fifty-two plates, was printed in 1652, and sold at the moderate price of two sous. In France, M. Bourdoise, parish priest of St. Nicholas de Chardonnet, made use of an illustrated catechism for the instruction of the young. Two French illustrated catechisms excelled others as works of art—one published in 1607 for the education of Louis XIII, and the other edited for the instruction of Louis XIV, and afterwards published in 1645 with the title of *Catechisme Royal*. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the utility of illustrated catechisms has been widely recognized. Many such catechisms have been published; amongst them the edition of the catechism of Bellarmine, with fifty engravings

from the works of the great masters, published by Palmé, of Paris, in 1884, deserves mention.

But, excellent as is the method of teaching catechism in schools, it is not possible in all countries, and even where it is possible, it is imperfect unless completed by instruction in the church. Instruction in the school gives a knowledge of the text, instruction in the church is needed to impart a knowledge of the meaning of the catechism. In all countries catechetical instruction in the church is an object of solicitude. But in no country has it been so highly systematized as in France. In that country it is usual to divide catechetical instruction into three grades, namely, the elementary grade, for children between the age of seven and nine years; the first communion class for those between nine and eleven, and lastly, the catechism of perseverance for those above the age of eleven. The *Règlement des Catechismes*, prescribed by Mgr. Dupanloup, which is here summarized, will show the method adopted in France.

In the elementary grade the catechism class lasts an hour and a half. First, the children are interrogated on the text of the catechism; in the second place they are examined on the subject of the discourse given by the priest at the previous class; next follows a discourse of about twenty minutes' duration by the priest in charge of the catechism explaining the text of the catechism, or giving a history of religion, dwelling on the history of the patriarchs and prophets, on the coming of Christ, the establishment of His Church and the institution of the Sacraments. After this, the written notes of the previous discourse are examined. Then the presiding priest gives a short practical discourse on the method of making the Sign of the Cross, of saying morning and night prayers,

of hearing Mass and preparing for confession. Lastly, the Gospel of the day is read, and a short explanation of its meaning brings the exercise to a close. In the intervals, between the above-mentioned exercises, hymns are sung or prayers recited.

In the first communion class a similar method is observed. The interrogations are made on the text of the larger catechism. When the date of the first communion is approaching, the candidates are prepared by special instructions, extending over about two months. During that period the future communicants are assembled in the church at least twice a week. The exercise usually includes Mass, and lasts two hours. During Mass hymns are sung and prayers read aloud, then follows the instruction as above described. The whole catechism is gone over. Particular pains are taken to inculcate the duty of prayer, and to prepare the children for a general confession. After some weeks' instruction the children are examined, and a list of those qualified for admission to first communion is prepared. Special instructions are then given on Holy Mass and Holy Communion. The candidates are obliged to go to confession at least every fifteen days at this period. Finally, the preparation for first communion is brought to a close by a retreat of three days' duration.

The day of first communion is one of great solemnity, and on the day which follows, the first communicants assemble to assist at a Mass of thanksgiving. For eight days they continue to wear the white dresses or badges which they wore on the day of their first communion, a usage which is a reminiscence of the time when the catechumens were admitted to Holy Communion immediately after Baptism, and for eight days wore white garments, the emblem of innocence and joy.

After first communion the young are exhorted to frequent a higher course of catechism, called the catechism of perseverance. The same order of exercises is observed as in the catechism of first communion. In some places young people continue to attend the catechism of perseverance until their twentieth year.

The co-operation of several persons is necessary to conduct catechism in this way. Usually in large parishes four catechists take part in it. One presides and gives the signal for the various exercises. A second sees that the children take their places in due order, and notes the absentees. A third directs the singing of hymns. A fourth keeps a register of the marks obtained by the children and of their certificates of confession. When the four catechists are priests, each gives the instruction in turn, but the admonitions are reserved to the chief catechist. Those who attend the catechism of perseverance are recommended to communicate every month.

It is manifest that children who have prepared for their first communion by a four years' course of instruction, and who then continue to attend for several years the catechism of perseverance, must possess a thorough knowledge of the doctrine and practices of religion.

In recent years religious instruction is being steadily banished from primary schools. Hence catechetical instruction in the church has become more necessary. But in large centres there are many children, such as errand boys, sweeps, circus children, who can hardly be reached by ordinary methods. Even these are provided for. Confraternities of catechists have been found to assist the clergy in instructing such children. In Paris alone, in 1900, the number of ladies who voluntarily gave their services to this good work amounted to 2,500, and the

number of children instructed to over 26,500. In Paris, too, an ambulant school has been provided for the *forains*, or circus children, and in these they receive both secular and religious instruction.

Such is a summary of the methods which have been adopted at various periods in imparting religious instruction. It shows how zealously the Church has at all times enforced the duty of teaching Christian Doctrine. To carry on that work with success, many elements must be combined, parents at home, teachers in the schools, and the clergy must work together. The knowledge of the text of the catechism is not enough. The catechism must be known, it must be understood, it must be reduced to practice. Teachers in the schools can give a knowledge of the text of the catechism. It is the office of the clergy to explain its meaning in such a way as to enlighten the intelligence of the young, and to move their hearts and wills to practice it.

"This" [says Pius X] "is the office of the catechist—to treat some truth pertaining either to faith or Christian morality, and to illustrate it in every possible way; and as the end of instruction ought to be an amendment of life, the catechist ought to draw a parallel between what God commands to be done and what men actually do: then, by means of carefully chosen examples, either from Sacred Scripture, or ecclesiastical history, or the Lives of the Saints, he should persuade his audience, and point out to them clearly a rule of conduct, and conclude by exhorting all present to dread and fly vice, and pursue virtue.(1)

To catechize with success requires greater diligence

(1) *Encyclical on Christian Doctrine*, 15th April, 1905.

than any other kind of public speaking. It is easier, says the Holy Father, to find an eloquent preacher than a good catechist. Yet catechetical instruction is no less noble and far more necessary than preaching. It is the foundation on which the spiritual life of the people depends. Let us hope that the recent legislation of the Holy Father may stimulate the zeal of pastors, and elevate still more the standard of religious instruction.

VERY REV. PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

Irish Ecclesiastical Record.

Notes on Cardinals and Their Insignia¹

PART I.

Origin.—The title of Cardinal (from the Latin, *cardo*, a hinge) has existed in the Roman Catholic Church from very early times, and was used at first to designate certain ecclesiastics who were the Pope's vicars and coadjutors in the diocese of Rome, for the management of affairs both spiritual and temporal. According to Baronius, mention is made of seven Cardinals at a Council held in the year 324; but it is not until A. D. 492, under Gelasius I., that they are clearly designated. Gradually these Cardinals acquired higher dignity and importance, until the twelfth century, when the title and rank began to be formally bestowed only on selected individuals, these distinguished persons being foreigners as well as Romans.

Electors of the Pope.—Nicholas II., in 1059, restricted the right of electing the Pope to the Cardinals alone. Although it is usual for them to select one of their own number to fill the Papal throne when vacant, this has not always been the case. Urban IV., B. Gregory X., St. Celestine V., Clement V., Urban V., and Urban VI. had never worn the purple.

Sacred College.—The body of Cardinals is styled the Sacred College.

Number.—Sixtus V., in 1586, limited the number of the Sacred College to seventy members, that is to say: six Bishops, fifty Priests, and fourteen Deacons, and that constitution still exists. Before that time the num-

(1) Read before the Guild of St. Gregory and St. Luke, 4 January, 1904.

ber had been subject to great variation; thus, at the election of Nicholas III. there were only eight Cardinals, on the death of Clement VI., they numbered twenty, while under Pius IV. they had reached seventy-four. In modern times the number of seventy is seldom complete, the Pope usually reserving a few vacancies for extraordinary cases, the exceptions being in 1655, and again in 1667, when there was not a single Hat vacant.

Three Orders.—The Cardinalate is thus divided into three orders or classes, though all of equal princely rank, namely: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and the precedence in each order is according to seniority of creation.

Cardinal Bishops.—The six Cardinal Bishops hold respectively the six suburban sees of Rome, viz.: 1. Ostia and Velletri; 2. Porto and S. Rufina; 3. Frascati; 4. Palestrina; 5. Sabina; and 6. Albano. The Bishop of Ostia is Dean of the Sacred College, and it is he who consecrates the new Pope. The Bishop of Porto is Sub-Dean. There is an instance, and I only know of this one, of a Cardinal having held all six suburban sees in succession. This was Giovanni Marone (cr. 1542).

Cardinal Priests.—The fifty Cardinal Priests are chosen chiefly from among the Patriarchs, the Archbishops and the Bishops; but the Religious Orders are also represented. Each has the title of a church in Rome allotted to him, and in that church he has jurisdiction, and a throne under a canopy. This title may in time be exchanged successively for others that are vacant, and in due course, by right of seniority, for a vacant Cardinal-Bishopric. This translation from one church to another is called *optare*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *opting* was much in favor, and it was not an uncommon occurrence for a Cardinal to

have held as many as four or five titles in succession. Nowadays a Cardinal is usually satisfied with his first title, and seldom *opts* for another, unless it be for that of St. Lawrence *in Lucina*, which ranks before all the rest.

Residence.—If he is an Archbishop or a Bishop, he resides in his diocese; if not a member of the Episcopate, he dwells in Rome, and forms part of the Curia. A Roman Council in the year 853, in the Pontificate of St. Leo IV., deposed Cardinal Anastasius from his title of St. Marcellus because he had been absent from his church five years.

Cardinal Deacons.—The fourteen Cardinal Deacons have also certain churches in Rome assigned to them, and these Deaconries are exchangeable at option in the same manner as the Bishoprics and Titles. Deacons may also be admitted into the superior grades as vacancies occur; but if not already priests, they must be ordained before admittance. Sometimes a Cardinal Priest chooses a Deaconry for his Title, and in that case the church becomes presbyteral for the nonce. A recent instance of this is the choice of the Diaconal Title of S. Maria *in Cosmedin*, made by his Eminence Cardinal Callegari, Bishop of Padua, when raised to the purple in November last by his Holiness Pius X.

The first or senior Deacon takes his designation from the Church of S. Maria *in Via lata*, and he has the privilege of proclaiming and crowning the Sovereign Pontiff.

Creations in Petto.—The term “reserved in Petto” is applied to the creation of Cardinals whose names are kept secret, and when the publication thereof is delayed for some reason or other. No one can assume the rank

of a Cardinal until his name has been published; but as soon as proclaimed he takes precedence over others from the day he was created and reserved *in petto*. Should the Pope die before the publication is made, the creation is void. It is supposed that Dr. Lingard, the great English historian, was created and reserved *in petto* by Leo XII., in 1826, though never published.

The Mitre.—The privilege of wearing a linen mitre was granted to Cardinal Priests before 1130, and this privilege was extended to Cardinal Deacons about sixty years later. The use of a silken mitre was not granted to Cardinals until the pontificate of Paul II.

The Red Hat.—Innocent IV., in 1245, ordained that Cardinals should wear a red Hat, to show that they ought to expose themselves to the shedding of their blood for the Church.

Skull-Cap, Biretta.—Paul II., in 1464, instituted the scarlet skull-cap and biretta.

Dress of the Monastic Orders.—Gregory XIV., in 1590, extended the same privileges to Cardinals of the Monastic Orders, who until then had worn no badge of their dignity.

Precedence over Bishops.—In 1614, in the Parliament of Paris, Louis XIII. adjudged precedence to the Cardinals over Bishops and Abbots.

Title of Eminence.—Urban VIII., in 1630, gave the Cardinals the title of Eminence.

Creations.—The creations by successive Popes have varied in number, usually in proportion to the duration of their reign; but not always, for instance: Leo XIII. created 147 Cardinals, this being the largest number ever created by one Pope, and 24 more than the number created by Pius IX., whose reign was longer than his

by seven years. Eight Popes—namely: Gregory VIII., Celestine IV., Innocent V., Adrian V., Pius III., Marcellus II., Urban VII., and Leo XI.—did not create a single Cardinal. The total number of creations from Paschal II., in 1099, up to the present time is 2,551.

Investiture.—Two consistories, one private, the other public, are held for the investiture of Cardinals who are present in Rome. The ceremonies include the giving of the Hat, the accolade, the ring, the closing and opening of mouths, and the conferring of the title.

Absentees.—Absent Cardinals when created have the scarlet cap sent to them by a special messenger. The Hat and the Title are only given to those who visit Rome, and as many, through old age, infirmities, or from some other cause, are unable to undertake the journey, they die without receiving either one or the other. An exception is made in favor of royal personages, to whom the Hat is sent.

Among those who never received the Hat may be mentioned the following celebrated Prime Ministers of France: Cardinals Richelieu, Mazarin, Fleury, and Du-bois; and the Duke de Lerma, Prime Minister of Spain.

Length of Cardinalate.—Several have enjoyed the Cardinalate over half a century; but he who beats the record is the Duke of York, who wore the purple during sixty years (1747—1807). On the other hand, some have enjoyed the dignity but a few days, for example, Leonardo Dati, who died in 1426, two days after promotion.

Creation after death.—But the most extraordinary cases are those of two who actually died before creation, and yet are reckoned among the Cardinals. The first case is that of an Englishman, William Maresfield, or

Macclesfield, who died in 1303, a day or two before his elevation; the other, a Portuguese, Pablo de Carvalho e Mendoça, brother of the Marquis de Pombal (1770). In those days, with neither telegrams nor Marconigrams, news travelled slowly.

Longevity.—Although many of the Cardinals attained a great age, only two to my knowledge reached or exceeded one hundred years. They were Domingo Ram, in the fifteenth, and George da Costa, in the sixteenth centuries.

Boy Cardinals.—Giovanni de' Medici (Leo X.) was created a Cardinal at the early age of fourteen, in 1489. Although the Council of Basel fixed the lowest age at thirty, it became a practice to create Boy Cardinals, the sixteenth century alone producing some twenty. The last and youngest of these was Luis Antonio, Infant of Spain, created in 1735, at the age of eight years.

Saints.—The Cardinalate has been distinguished by a number of Saints, including St. Peter Igneo, St. Peter Damian, St. Albert of Brabant, St. Guarino Fuscari, St. Galdino Sala, and St. Raymond Nonnato, and the yet greater names of St. Bonaventure, St. Charles Borromeo, and Blessed John Fisher.

Although St. Jerome in paintings and sculpture is usually represented as wearing a Red Hat, to reckon him among the Cardinals would be an anachronism.

Religious Orders.—It is usual for the principal Religious Orders to have a representative in the Sacred College. Baldwin, in 1130, was the first Cistercian raised to the Cardinalate. The first Dominican was Hugues de St. Thierry, in 1244. The first Jesuit, Francisco de Toledo, in 1593; and the first Carmelite, Giovanni Antonio Guadagni, in 1731.

Appellations.—Certain Cardinals have been known in history under special designations. Thus, Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza (1473) was called "the Grand Cardinal of Spain." Richelieu was known as "the Cardinal-Minister," and Louis de Nogaret La Vallette (1621), whose servility to Richelieu made him a butt to the witty, was facetiously styled "the Cardinal Valet."

Pileo de Prata (1378) came to be designated as "the Cardinal of the Three Hats," having received his first Hat from Urban VI., his second from the Antipope Clement VII., and his third from Boniface IX., when he restored him to the purple in 1391, from which he had been degraded by Urban.

A Cistercian, William Curty (1337) was generally known as "the White Cardinal," and the term "Black Cardinals" was applied to thirteen members of the Sacred College, who, having refused to attend the marriage of Napoleon I. with the Archduchess Marie Louise, were on that account driven into exile or imprisoned, treated with great rigor, and forbidden to wear the Cardinalitial dress.

Jean de Lorraine (1518) earned the name of the Greatest Pluralist: *Maximus cumulator episcopatum*, enjoying as he did the revenues of twelve Bishoprics all at the same time. This abuse was remedied by the Council of Trent.

Deprivations.—Not a few Cardinals have been deprived of their rank by the Pope. The offences for which they were deprived were various; but the greater number were so punished for joining in schisms. Deprivations have taken place from the earliest times; the latest instances being those of Niccolo Coscia, deposed from his rank for embezzlement and fraud in 1730, but par-

doned and reinstated in 1740, and Jean Maury, temporarily deprived in 1810, for accepting the Archbishopric of Paris from Napoleon, in disobedience to the Pope.

Resignations.—Closely allied to deprivations were the compulsory resignations of Cardinals Vincenzo Altieri and Tommaso Antici. When the French Republican troops entered Rome in 1798, barbarously scattering the members of the Sacred College, these two Cardinals, unable to leave the city through infirmities or sickness, were compelled to resign their rank.

Most of the voluntary resignations are those of scions of Royal or Princely Houses, who obtained the Papal dispensation in order to lay aside the purple and marry.

The notorious Cæsar Borgia resigned in 1498, after wearing the purple five years.

The most recent example of a Cardinal resigning his Hat occurred in 1838, when Carlo Odescalchi resigned and became a Jesuit.

In 1885, Cardinal Hohenlohe obtained the Pope's permission to resign the Cardinal-Bishopric of Albano, and return to the lower grade of a Cardinal Priest. This is the only instance I know of such a case occurring.

A Huguenot.—Cardinal Odet de Coligny de Chatillon (1533), having become a Calvinist, was degraded and excommunicated in 1563. He persisted, however, in dressing in scarlet robes, married Isabel Hauteville in 1564, and audaciously presented her at Court as *Madame la Cardinale*. In 1567 he fought on the Huguenot side at the Battle of St. Denis; in 1568, disguised as a sailor, he fled to England, and was welcomed by Queen Elizabeth. Three years later Coligny was poisoned by his valet; he lies buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

A Revolutionary Bishop.—Another pervert was Cardinal Etienne Loménie de Brienne, Prime Minister to Louis XVI., 1787-1788. Having taken the civil oath, he was made Constitutional Bishop of Yonne in 1790. Rebuked and suspended by Pius VI., he replied by resigning his Hat in 1791. This step, however, did not save him in the Reign of Terror. Arrested in 1794, he died miserably during an orgie of his captors.

Violent and tragic deaths.—A number of Cardinals have had violent deaths. Some have been executed, others assassinated, poisoned, drowned, or accidentally killed. Others again have died of the plague, or of cholera, or have expired suddenly, as, for instance, Cardinal de Bérulle, in 1629, who was saying Mass when he expired, uttering the words: *Hanc igitur oblationem.*

Cardinal Remolin, who died in 1518, is thought to have been buried alive, for when his tomb was opened some years later, one of his arms was found stretched across his head.

Cardinal Utyschenitz, otherwise called Martinusius, Archbishop of Gran and Regent of Hungary, was murdered by ten assassins in 1551. One of his ears was cut off and carried in token of the deed to Ferdinand of Austria, who had instigated the crime. The unfortunate prelate's body lay where it had fallen, unburied for seventy days.

In 1562, Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, the second of the name, was killed in a hunting party, it is said, by his brother, Don Garzia. When the murderer was confronted with the corpse, it bled as a sign of his guilt, whereupon the Grand Duke Cosimo, their father, in a fit of rage stabbed Don Garzia, and the Grand Duchess

died of horror at the spectacle. Alfieri has made this terrible story the subject of one of his tragedies.(1)

Charges against Cardinals.—Ferdinand, another of the Medici Cardinals, is accused of having poisoned his brother, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Grand Duchess—the beautiful Bianca Capello—at a banquet in 1587.—Through this crime he became Grand Duke, resigning his Hat in 1588.

Alfonso de la Cueva, Marquis de Bedmar, Spanish Ambassador at Venice, is alleged to have concocted, in 1618, an audacious plot for the destruction of that city on Ascension Day, when it was customary for the Doge to leave Venice on the Bucentaur to wed the Adriatic. This conspiracy forms the subject of Otway's famous tragedy, *Venice Preserved*. Bedmar was raised to the Cardinalate in 1622.

Prelate-warriors.—Of soldier-prelates, the most remarkable were Gil Albornoz (1350), dubbed knight at the siege at Algeciras, and Pierre d'Aubusson (1489), Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, who received five wounds in his memorable defence of Rhodes against the Turks.

Parvenus.—Many Cardinals have risen from the lowest ranks. Alberoni (1717), Prime Minister of Spain, was the son of a poor wine-dresser. Dubois (1721), Prime Minister of France, had been a domestic servant, and Maury (1794) was a cobbler's son.

(1) It was a common notion that a corpse will bleed in the presence of the murderer. King James I., in his *Dæmonologie*, Book 3, Chap. 6, says: "In a secret murder, if the dead carcase be at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it wil gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to the heaven for revenge of the murtherer." Shakespeare, Lord Bacon, Michael Drayton, and Robert Burton also allude to this superstition.

Other remarkable men.—Among other distinguished men who wore the purple must not be omitted the names of Ximenes (1507), who edited a polyglot bible, Baronius (1596), the great ecclesiastical historian, Bembo (1538), the elegant poet, Mezzofanti (1838), the extraordinary linguist, and Gerdil (1777), the scientist. The last-named was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London.

Cardinal Prospero Santacroce (1565) introduced tobacco into Italy from Portugal, where he had been Nuncio, and Cardinal Juan de Lugo (1643), a Jesuit, introduced Peruvian bark and quinine into Europe from South America.

The practice of ringing a bell at the Elevation in the Mass, and also in front of a priest carrying the Viaticum to the sick, originated with Cardinal Guy Paré (1190).

Cardinal Balue (1464) was imprisoned by Louis XI. eleven years in the Chateau de Loches, suspended part of the time in an iron cage in mid-air.

René de Birague (1578), who had been nominated to the Bishopric of Lavaur, but never consecrated, said of himself that he was "a Cardinal without a Title, a Bishop without a see, and a Chancellor without the seals."

British Cardinals.—I have reserved an account of the British Cardinals to the last, and shall only mention their number, as a detailed account would occupy too much space. The English number 42 in all; the Scotch 2, and the Irish 4.

Englishmen.—The twelfth century produced six English Cardinals, namely; Ulfric (1107), Robert Bullen, or Pollen (1130), Nicholas Breakspeare—Pope Adrian IV. (1146), Geoffrey of Monmouth (1146), Boso Breakspeare (1155), and Herbert de Bosham (1178).

The thirteenth century produced seven, viz.: Stephen Langton (1212), Robert Curson (1212), Robert Summercote (1231), John Tolet (1244), Robert Kilwardby (1278), Hugh Black (1281), and Theobald Stamp (1288).

In the fourteenth century we also find seven: William Maresfield (1303), Walter Winterburn (1304), Thomas Joyce (1305), Simon Langham (1368), Adam Easton (1378), Thomas Theobald (1384), and William Courtenay (1384).

Seven again were created in the fifteenth century, namely: Philip Repington (1408), Thomas Langley (1411), Robert Hallum (1411), Henry Beaufort (1426), John Kemp (1439), Thomas Bourchier (1464), and John Morton (1493).

In the sixteenth century the number fell to six: Christopher Bainbridge (1511), Thomas Wolsey (1515), B. John Fisher (1535), Reginald Pole (1536), William Peto (1557), and William Allen (1587).

We only find one in the seventeenth century: Philip Thomas Howard (1675), and one only in the eighteenth: Henry Benedict, Duke of York (1747).

The nineteenth century supplied seven: Thomas Weld (1830), Charles Acton (1839), Nicholas Wiseman (1850), Henry Edward Manning (1875), Edward Henry Howard (1877), John Henry Newman (1879), and Herbert Vaughan (1893).

Henry Noris (1695), a native of Verona, although English by name and descent, can scarcely be reckoned among our Cardinals.

Scotsmen.—The two Scotch Cardinals are David Beaton (1538), and Charles Erskine, of Cambo (1801).

Irishmen.—The Irish members of the Sacred College

have been four, including the Archbishop of Sydney. They are: Paul Cullen (1866), Edward MacCabe (1882), David Logue (1893), and Patrick Francis Moran (1885).

Canadian.—Elzéar Taschereau (1886) is the only Canadian.

Americans.—The United States has produced John McCloskey (1875), and James Gibbons (1886).

Two Brothers.—Formerly it was not permissible for two brothers to be members of the Sacred College during each other's life-time; but his Holiness Leo XIII. appears to have departed from this rule, when he admitted the brothers Vannutelli.

Mourning.—Cardinals when in mourning wear violet.

PART II.

The Red Hat.—A Cardinal's arms are always surmounted by a Red Hat, the only exception being for the Patriarchs of Lisbon, who by some special privilege substitute a tiara instead. If the bearer be of royal or noble birth, he places a coronet expressive of his rank above the shield; but the Hat must always overtop it, even if it be a royal crown. Many of the Austro-Hungarian Archbishoprics and German Bishoprics confer princely rank on the holders, hence their right to use a Prince's coronet, even when they are of plebeian origin. In France, before the Revolution, the sees of Rheims, Langres, and Laon conferred in the same way a Dukedom and peerage, and the sees of Beauvais, Chalons, and Noyon a Countship and peerage. But in Republican France of the present day it seems strange to see Car-

dinals of humble parentage sporting ducal coronets over their arms.

The Red Hat, instituted in 1245, was in its earliest shape like an inverted basin pierced in two places for cords to pass through the tie under the chin if required. Both ends of these two cords terminated with a ball or tassel. As time wore on these tassels increased in number, and the Hat assumed a low crown and a very broad brim.

Tassels.—In the fourteenth century the cords being long were knotted, and these knots by a species of evolution developed into little round balls; these in turn were eventually transformed into tassels. At the stage when they were merely balls, the cords came to be crossed in a curious web-like fashion, much resembling what children call a "cat's cradle." This obtained till late in the fifteenth century, and I am inclined to fix that period for the adoption of the present systematic arrangement of regular tiers of tassels. These tiers, arranged after the shape of a pyramid, beginning with one tassel at the top and increasing with an additional tassel to each successive row, numbered three in the *cinquecento*; but they were afterwards augmented and reached five—the present regulation number. The five tiers consist of fifteen tassels, or *fiocchi*, as they are termed in Italy. However, there has always been, and is still, much latitude in regard to the number, apparently according to the pleasure of individual Cardinals, or of the artists they employ.

The three-tier arrangement (6 tassels) has prevailed the longest of any, and been the favorite one in Italy, and also in Germany.

Four tiers (10 tassels) are occasionally met with in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Five tiers have found favor in England and in France for the past four hundred years. In a copy of a Sarum Missal, dated 1500, belonging to Lord Spencer, Cardinal Morton's arms are represented beneath a Hat having five rows of tassels.

At least two examples are known of six rows (21 tassels). One belongs to Cardinal Wolsey; Cardinal Potier de Gesvres (1719) is responsible for the other.

Before the use of the Hat, Cardinals bore their arms on a simple shield and *not* surmounted by a mitre, as Ciaconius pretends. This is manifestly so on the tomb of Cardinal Gonsalvo Rodriguez (1298) in the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, and on other early tombs in Rome; it is moreover the opinion of the learned Antonio Cartari, in lib. iii., cap. 2, of his *Prodromo Gentilizio*. One last word on the Hat. Although instituted in 1245, it was not placed over a coat-of-arms until the following century, and the custom is said to have originated in Spain.

Episcopal Cross.—If the Cardinal is a Bishop, a cross is placed above his arms under the Hat, and if an Archbishop, the cross has a double horizontal bar.

The Pallium.—The Pallium is usually placed by Italian and French Archbishops above the shield also, and partly overlapping it; but sometimes it is represented encircling or even suspended below it.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York exhibited the Pallium in the arms of their respective sees, which they impaled on the dexter side of their personal arms. Cardinals Cullen, Logue, and Vaughan revived the practice.

Mottoes.—Mottoes have been occasionally used by Cardinals for centuries past, but it was not until the nineteenth century that they became pretty general in all countries, excepting Italy. The Italians, strange to say, seldom use them.

The motto is commonly placed on a scroll below the shield. Sometimes two are adopted.

Supporters.—Supporters are very rarely seen, for I do not take into account the flying *amoretti* so much in favor with *rococo* artists. Ten Cardinals, to my knowledge, have used heraldic supporters. I will mention Jean Rolin (1448), who had two Savages; Charles de Bourbon (1476), two Angels; Thomas Wolsey, two Griffins, per fesse gules and argent, each holding a staff of office or, Two Men armed cap-a-pie supported Cardinal Ledochowski's arms (1875), and two Lions crowned or, each holding a banner, Cardinal Schönborn's (1889).

Crests.—If supporters are rare, crests are still rarer. Three or four German Cardinals of high nobility make a magnificent display of crests, each crest surmounting a separate helmet. Cardinal Wolsey's crest, as shown in Harl. MS. 4,632, is a leopard's face azure, langued gules, holding an arrow fesswise between its teeth, and it is placed on a ducal coronet.

Badges.—John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, adopted a Tun inscribed *mor.* as a Badge, or Rebus on his name. In the sixteenth century, nearly all the Italian Cardinals, and a few others, used emblems and mottoes.

Orders of Knighthood.—Crosses and stars of Orders are suspended below the shield, excepting the Crosses of the Orders of Malta and Calatrava, which are always placed behind it, the extremities alone visibly projecting.

Arms.—The arms of Cardinals may be divided into two categories: hereditary and adopted, according respectively to the aristocratic or plebeian birth of the bearer.

Of hereditary or Family Arms I will say but little, as they call for no special remark. I regret, however, that when there have been two or more Cardinals of the same noble family, as frequently happens in Italy, there has so seldom been any distinctive mark to identify the arms of one from another. A notable exception is found in the bearings of Cardinal Angelo Jacobini (1882), who, as he did me the honor to inform me, impaled his paternal coat with that of his mother's family, in order to distinguish it from the arms of his cousin, Cardinal Luigi, the Secretary of State, who bore the arms of Jacobini without any addition.

Marks of Cadency.—Marks of cadency are unknown in Italy. His Eminence Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli graciously informed me in 1892 that he and his brother, Cardinal Serafino, bore the same arms without any distinction, not thinking it necessary to make an alteration in their ancient family bearings. In England, on the other hand, we find Cardinal Langley (1411) using the mullet, the mark of the third son; and Cardinals Beaufort and the Duke of York, the crescent for the second son. When the Cardinal of York became the head of the House of Stuart, in 1788, he omitted this crescent, which till then he had borne on the Royal Arms.

Canting Arms.—A good example of canting arms is that of Cardinal Pellevé's (1570), representing a man's head in profile with his hair standing on end, the name of Pellevé being a contraction of *poil levé*—hair erect. The Cardinal's death had a singular connection with the

arms he bore. Lying ill in bed, when Henry IV. entered Paris, and hearing that his house was surrounded by soldiers who had come to arrest him, he died of fright.

Allusive Arms.—Of allusive arms Cardinal Boyer's (1895) are a good specimen. He bore: or, a chevron between three carpenter's planes, gules, to denote that he was a carpenter's son.

Adopted Arms.—The arms adopted by Cardinals who have no family arms of their own are of two classes: heraldic and pictorial. By heraldic I mean such as can be correctly described in the language of blazonry, and accurately depicted from a description only by anyone versed in the science. As a rule, the pictorial hardly conform with the rules of heraldry, and are therefore sometimes difficult to draw from a description. For instance, Cardinal Pie, the famous Bishop of Poitiers, bore azure, the Black Virgin of the Pillar of Chartres argent. Well, how is it possible for a person who has never visited Chartres or seen a copy of the Bishop's arms to give a correct representation of them? Cardinal Monescillo, Archbishop of Toledo, had a pictorial representation of the Immaculate Conception with floating angels and clouds *ad libitum*. Cardinal Steinhuber (1893) has chosen a landscape, with a stream of water flowing from some rocks, and a hand pointing from heaven. But the hardest nut to crack for the herald is the shield of another Archbishop of Toledo, the late Cardinal Paya y Rico, which is an agglomeration of charges of the most fanciful description. Happily, not all adopted arms are so provoking, and the greater number conform with the rules of heraldry.

Three Arms for one Cardinal.—Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, appears to have assumed three

different coats-of-arms at different times. His Eminence, writing to me in 1886, sent me the following arms stamped on his letter paper: azure, a seated figure of our Lady holding the Divine Child. *Motto*: AUSPICE MARIA. Enclosed in his letter was the wax impression of: "my private seal which I have seldom used." The arms thereon, somewhat indistinct, appear to be: gules, a paschal lamb; on a chief mullets. When I was in Rome in 1887, I beheld over the portal of his Eminence's titular Church of S. Maria, in Trastevere, yet another coat-of-arms, viz., azure, a terrestrial globe in base, surmounted in chief by a dove volant downwards argent, nimbéd or. *Motto*: EMITTE SPIRITUM TUUM.

Augmentations.—Augmentations and modifications sometimes occur. Cardinal Place (1886) added a fesse ermine to his arms when he was translated from the see of Marseilles to that of Rennes. Cardinal Lecot added a quartering when translated from Dijon to Bordeaux. When Cardinal Vaughan became Archbishop of Westminster, he impaled his paternal arms with the pallium and cross on a gules field, for Westminster, and also changed his motto. Under Napoleon I., the French Cardinals who were created Counts and Senators added special quarterings indicative of their new rank in the Empire. Thus Cardinal de Cambacérès (1803) added to his arms a canton azure, charged with a mirror erect in pale or, a serpent argent, winding around the handle thereof. But he omitted this canton after the Bourbon Restoration.

Impaling.—German and Austrian Archbishops and Bishops usually impale the arms of their see with their own. So did the English pre-Reformation Episcopacy, and in France before the Revolution of the six Spiritual

Peers—namely: the Archbishop-Dukes of Rheims, the Bishop-Dukes of Langres and Laon, and the Bishop-Counts of Beauvais, Chalons, and Noyon did the same.

Religious impale their personal arms with those of their Order, the latter occupying the dexter side. Sometimes, instead of being impaled, the arms of the Order are placed on a chief, in a quarter, or on an escutcheon of pretence.

In the sixteenth century arose the practice for Cardinals to impale the arms of the Pope who had created them with their own. This custom began under Leo X., and lasted nearly a hundred years. Afterwards the impalement of the Pope's arms became restricted to members of the Papal Household—such as the Majordomo—and it is their privilege at the present day. The arms of Luigi del Drago (1832), Majordomo under three successive Popes, may be found impaled with those of each one of these Pontiffs.

It has been customary in recent times for the Patriarchs of Venice to surmount their arms with the winged lion of St. Mark on a chief in augmentation, and Pope Pius X., when he was Patriarch, maintained this usage, the arms of his Holiness being: azure, an anchor in pale argent, issuing from waves of the sea in base, and surmounted in chief by a star of six points; on a chief of the second, a lion of St. Mark. Or, to quote Cardinal Sarto's own words, in his gracious letter to me, dated Venice, December 14, 1894:

"Ecco soddisfatto il suo desiderio. Il Leone di S. Marco è in campo d'argento. L'ancora pesca in onde tranquille. La stella a sei punte in campo celeste."

G. A. BOUVIER.

In the *Month*.



The Reform in Church Music



THE question of church music has been much before the world of late. The discussion, at first confined to specialists, is now rapidly spreading to the general public, the musical and the unmusical, the faithful and the faithless. It may be useful, therefore, to bring out as clearly as possible the fundamental principle of the art of musical prayer, in order that principle, and not caprice, may be brought to bear in the solution of the problem. It is, then, with principles that I propose to deal. Should a concrete school of art be deduced in the course of these pages, it is not by way of limitation, but of illustration.

First, then, we want an adequate test of church music, an explicit standard of artistic value. We have been too long content to make beauty in the music *as music* the Alpha and Omega of such test; a method wholly inadequate in this case. For church music is an art made up of two elements, music and prayer,⁽¹⁾ and it cannot be judged by the value of one of its elements tested as a separate entity. We need a test that applies to the art as a whole, and we find it in the simple formula: "Lex orandi lex cantandi." Here is the crux of the whole matter: the law of prayer must be the law of

(1) I use the word *prayer*, not in the sense of a mere petition, but in its wider meaning,—a lifting of mind and heart to God.

song, both that our prayer may be good art and that our art may be good prayer. Prayer and music must so combine as to make *one art*: the music must pray, the prayer must sing. Otherwise the prayer is forgotten in the detached beauty of the music, or the music is forgotten in the detached beauty of the prayer. Unless the prayer and song thus rise to heaven as a single "spiritual groaning," unless they become one, merged in a true marriage of the spirit, their association is an offense both artistic and devotional. This, then, is the true test of a musical composition for the church: Does it conform to the law of prayer? It is good art. Does it seek independent paths of edification? It is bad art.

In opera we recognize the same principle. There the law of the drama is the law of the music. The music cannot be gay when the characters are sad, or *vice versa*; and thus the spirit of the music agrees with the spirit of the drama. But more than this, their forms must coincide; the hero leaping from a crag must not be left suspended in mid-air while the orchestra finishes the working out of the theme. The spirit and form of the drama regulate the spirit and form of the music. This principle is universally recognized as regards opera; but the very musician who applies it as a matter of course to the theatre is dumbfounded when asked to apply it to the church. The modern composer is equally short-sighted in his methods: a man with no conception of love, if such there be, would scarcely undertake to set to music the drama of *Tristan and Isolde*; yet a man with no conception of prayer—and of such there are, alas, many—does not hesitate to set to music words of whose meaning he has not the vaguest practical knowledge. And when confronted with his ignorance, he

cheerfully admits it, adding, as though this covered the whole ground, that he knows the laws of musical composition. Plainly, such a composer is equipped for half his task only; for if the law of drama be the law of music in opera, and the law of prayer be the law of song in church, the composer must understand the meaning of the drama, in the one case, and the meaning of prayer in the other, in order to give either an adequate musical setting. It may be possible to write beautiful music to sentiments he does not understand, but the chances are small that he will write appropriate music; and good art is the appropriate intensified to an ideal.

It is clear, then, that familiarity with the laws of musical composition, while indispensable, is not sufficient in itself, for it is no less shallow to expect the law of counterpoint to teach us the law of prayer, than to expect the law of prayer to teach us the law of counterpoint. Our education must be twofold. By studying the rules of composition, the individual corrects his musical eccentricities by the standard which has been evolved from the musical experience of the centuries; his devotional eccentricities need the same correction, that they may be brought up to the standard evolved from the spiritual experience of the ages. We need to equip ourselves spiritually as well as musically; educate ourselves not only in the works of the masters in the art of music, but in the works of the masters in the art of prayer; bring our musical perceptions into touch with Palestrina, with Bach, with Beethoven, and our devotional perceptions into touch with those geniuses in religion whom we call saints. Not that we need all be saints in order to write, or even understand, church music, but we must have at least some apprehension of

sainthood, of what constitutes true spirituality as distinguished from false, even as we distinguish between true and false art-principles. But the laws of music are, comparatively speaking, so easy to learn, and the laws of prayer so hard, that we allow ourselves to be content with the merely beautiful in our church music, and to drift away from the ideal of the appropriate. To this ideal we must return.

I shall henceforth limit myself to a discussion of the music of the Catholic Church, not merely because the present reform movement originated there, and is being worked out systematically under the leadership of that great musician, Pope Pius X; but more especially, because in the Catholic Church we have the problem in its most concrete form. There, the music is not merely an accessory, but an integral part of the ritual; words and music form together a complete artistic whole. The ritual of the Catholic Church is fixed, because the idea is fixed of which ritual is the outward manifestation. Ritual bears as natural and inevitable a relation to faith as the gesture does to feeling; the material manifestation, it is true, but a necessary one to the normal creature, who—being not yet a pure spirit—possesses no other means of expression. As ritual without faith becomes a lie, so faith without ritual is ineffective, a talent buried in the earth. So long as we remain human beings, the spiritual must take an outward form—of word, of gesture, of action—that it may be part of our nature. Even God became man that He might be fully apprehensible to his creatures; He translated Himself into terms of the tangible; which is, indeed, the sacramental principle. And so we must have ritual. But this ritual must really express what is behind it; it must bear a very logical

relation to faith, even as the gesture does to the thought. We do not express our affection by a blow in the face, nor gesticulate violently when the heart is an icicle. Every ritual-result must be the direct manifestation of a corresponding faith-cause. Herein lies the true importance of church music. For it is not enough that it should not hide the faith; it must reveal it, even interpret it, and through the outward manifestation of faith, raise the heart to an understanding of its inner meaning; it must, by means of the natural, help the weak human heart to rise to the heights of the supernatural.

This is why the Pope attaches such importance to this reform in music; why he insists that these three hundred million people of his, not all artists by any means—the tiller of the soil and the worker in the subway—should listen to a certain type of music, and no other.

What is the music whose use the Pope wishes especially to enforce? The Gregorian Chant. To quote from the Encyclical: "The more closely a composition for the Church approaches in movement, inspiration and savor, the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple."

Thus, in the Pope's judgment, the standard is fixed. This sounds, on the face of it, somewhat arbitrary, like binding ourselves to an antiquated art-form, and clipping the wings of progress. And so it will be interesting to examine the claims of the Gregorian music, and determine where and why it is superior to any more modern form as a setting of liturgical prayer.

The Gregorian is objected to as an antiquated art-form, a musical archaism. But an art-form does not become antiquated through mere lapse of time: Greek

architecture and Greek sculpture, which date still farther back, remain the standard in plastic art. The Catholic liturgy is, as we have seen, fixed in its general character and scope; the form that best expresses it, then, need not be the latest fluctuation of popular taste; it need not even be the form which is most interesting, judged from a purely musical standpoint. But the highest art will be the form that best fits the liturgical form. Granting, even, that music, as an art, has advanced and developed since the days of St. Gregory, the question remains, which, for us, is the important one: has it advanced and developed along the lines of prayer, or the reverse, in religious or in secular channels? For if it has not advanced along the lines of prayer, then the earlier form will be the best art for our specific purpose.

One can trace a certain definite sequence in the development of every art. First we have the idea which strives to express itself in form. This form, at first crude, gradually perfects itself, until the point arrives when idea and form become synonymous. Then we have the classical period. Any further development of form is at the expense of the idea; it is the beginning of decadence, the lowest ebb of which is reached when art has descended to pure matter without idea. When form has thus submerged the idea, the painter uses color for color's sake, the musician revels in mere sound, "tone color," the orator in "fine words," sonorous phrases, tickling sound, dazzling color, *vox et praeterea nihil*—and art lies dead. Perfection of form is good art, display of form is decadence; and so the psychological moment when idea and form coincide must remain the classical period for all time, the highest expression of that particular idea. A true development in art can only

be brought about by the entrance of a new idea. Thus after the vocal idea comes the instrumental; after the melodic idea, the contrapuntal. One succeeds the other, but one does not improve upon the other. Gregorian Chant represents the culmination of the melodic idea, the highest conceivable development of unisonous music, and further development had to take the form of polyphony.

The important question, then, is not whether we ought to go back to antiquity, but whether, by so doing, we shall or shall not find the classical period in the art of musical prayer: the moment when the idea—prayer—and the form—music—became identical.

Let us briefly examine the characteristics of liturgical prayer, for Chant, as an art, stands or falls on the basis of its adaptability to this purpose. If it can be proved that the Gregorian form, and that form only, succeeds in translating the liturgy into music, in fitting that particular idea with form, then its value as an art is proved.

The liturgy of the Catholic Church serves a twofold purpose: to pray and to teach. The latter, her teaching function, is defeated by the use of any but unisonous music, because polyphony makes the words, in a greater or less degree, incomprehensible. In Chant the words are not repeated, twisted, turned upside down, inside out, and hind part before; they are uttered slowly, distinctly, pensively, each syllable lingered over as though with tenderness. It is a "musing," a quiet spiritual breathing. We can hear the Word of God and absorb it. Thus the teaching function of the Church demands the use of Chant.

Her prayer function demands it no less. Structurally, her prayers were conceived in a spirit of Chant and not

of music,(1) their very length precluding a more elaborate setting. A single illustration will suffice: during Holy Week the history of the Passion is read in all Catholic churches as the gospel of the day, while the congregation stands. Bach has given the Passion a musical setting—one of the greatest of all pieces of devotional music. Yet it has one fatal objection: its performance takes no less than five hours—a somewhat severe test upon the bodily strength of the congregation. Thus the musical structure of the period prevented even the great Bach from clothing his great idea with suitable form. Chant merely enunciates the words, music embroiders on them; one is the principle of concentration, the other that of diffusion. Chant is, therefore, the only form in which the whole liturgy can be sung at all.

So much for the merely structural demands of the liturgy. Its æsthetic demands are no less clear.

Liturgical prayer is not the expression of individual reaching up to God, as in private devotion; it is the Church praying as a Church, officially, as a corporate whole. Her prayer has a fixed form, the outgrowth of the spiritual evolution of the Church, a survival of the fittest in the realm of religion. This prayer has, first of all, dignity: it is addressed to Almighty God. For this reason our modern rhythm, the outgrowth of the dance movement, is out of place, the form being too trivial to express the idea. I am speaking on purely artistic grounds. Again, prayer must have spontaneity; any in-

(1) Music is here used in its restricted sense, *i. e.*, figured or harmonized music as distinguished from unisonous Chant; and to denote what the ceremonial of the bishops officially styles *musica*, and what is meant in modern language by "une Messe en musique," "eine musikalische Litanei," "musical vespers," etc.

sincerity kills prayer as prayer. For, as we have seen, a form attracting attention to itself detracts from the idea, and the idea in this case is God. Thus a prayer in rhyme would so obtrude its form as materially to detract from the idea. In precisely like manner is a prayer in music inferior to a prayer in Chant. Music, with its fixed measure, its regular strong and weak beats, is a formal garden, cut and trimmed into conventional avenues, adorned with hothouse plants. Chant is nature, the beauty of the fields and the forests. The formal garden has indeed its own place, its proper function; but prayer trimmed into a formal garden is an anomaly. The spirit bloweth where it listeth. Music moves with the regular rhythm of poetry; Chant with the free rhythm of prose, the cadence of a fine oratorical period. Chant has feet but no measure, and these feet succeed each other naturally, not artificially, so that there is no conflicting form to obstruct Chant in its effort to take the identical shape of the words and phrases of the prayers.

Modern music has two scales, or *Modes*. Chant has eight. It is evident that eight modes give greater variety of expression than two—an advantage for which even our modern indiscriminate use of the chromatic does not fully compensate. A mode is a manner. As in speech the speaker's manner shades the meaning of his words, sometimes even alters it, so in music the mode, or manner, determines the character of the composition. The meaning of a triad, for instance, depends entirely upon whether its manner be major or minor: lower the third, and its manner is sad: raise the third, and its manner is gay. Our present musical system is limited, then, to two manners, the major and the minor; and so Chant has the advantage of greater scope and variety. But

more than this: the character of these two modern scales compels us to choose between a gayety almost frivolous on the one hand, and, on the other, a sorrow savoring of despair; neither of which emotions has any place in the Christian soul at prayer. The eight modes of the ancients, on the contrary, were devised to meet the requirements of prayer in an age when art was exclusively the servant of religion. They enabled the composer of the period to seize the subtle prayer-spirit, that elusive characteristic of Christianity, the rainbow tints of *joy in suffering*. Chant is joyful, but with the joy of the Cross, as distinguished from the joy of the revel. Chant is fervent, but with the passion of asceticism, as distinguished from the passion of the world. Prayer-sorrow is never despair, nor is prayer-joy ever frivolous. Chant is the artistic embodiment of this spirit; the minor idea and the major idea are so interwoven, their relation is so intimate, that to disentangle them is impossible. We are never left in sorrow, yet our joy is never without a cloud. Even in those bursts of ecstatic joy of the Easter Alleluias lurks the memory that we are still a part of earth, still in the valley of tears. Light and shadow play tantalizingly in and out, like the sun shining through a forest; glimpses of heaven caught through rifts in the clouds of the world.

We do not find in the ancient modes the same violent contrasts of mood as in the modern. They combine a solemnity, a grandeur, with the most tender and fervent devotion. Their minor tendency gives not so much the impression of sadness as of great solemnity and awe; their major tendency, not so much the impression of merriment as of a tender and ardent devotion. Thus we have the combination that makes true prayer: reverence

and love—the prayer that, like David's, rises as incense before the altar.

There is something obvious about the two scales of modern music. Christianity is not obvious. It is a philosophy of seeming contradictions: joy through renunciation, happiness through suffering, triumph through failure, victory through death. These emotions are not commonplace, to be neatly pigeon-holed under the headings "gay" or "sad," "major" or "minor." No, let us use artistic discrimination in this matter: the modern scales, the modern measure, our entire musical system as it at present exists, was devised for secular uses, and is perfectly adapted thereto. But when we try to adapt this modern music to the exigencies of liturgical prayer, we simply spoil two good things: we ruin not only our prayer, but our modern music as well, for we rob this music of its own character and give nothing in its place. Thus modern liturgical music, if it succeeds in being non-scandalous, becomes, at best, negative; which in itself defeats the true purpose of church music. For it is not enough that it be negative; it must be actively spiritual. It is not enough that it should not distract; it must stimulate. For the sole principle upon which the use of art in church is justifiable is this: that, by acting upon the imagination, it interprets and intensifies hidden beauties in the realm of the spirit. Church music must not have less character than secular music, but its character must be different; a difference not of degree but of kind. There is no emotion more intense than religious emotion, but its intensity is along other lines than those of worldly emotion. The same is true of religious music.

This is a distinction which many of the great composers in the past have recognized. Thus Wagner, who

is not open to suspicion of partiality for antiquated art forms, frankly borrows the Church's form when wishing to construct a religious drama. By means of one Gregorian progression, a single phrase borrowed from the treasure of the Church, he gives his entire opera a stamp of pseudo-spirituality, of which quality his own far from spiritual development of the theme does not succeed in wholly robbing it. Such is the force of the Gregorian. Beethoven and Brahms made frequent use of the old modes, instead of the modern scales, when wishing to create an atmosphere of purity and highest mysticism. Indeed, a study of the great composers would seem to bear out the theory that the more lofty the thought, the less adequate becomes the modern scale, and the more intense the emotion, the less adequate becomes the modern measure. The general tendency of modern music is toward greater variety than the present system allows: greater variety of mode and greater variety of movement. Even for secular purposes, we are beginning to feel the cramping effect of the artificially constructed measure, more especially in moments of intense emotion; and we struggle toward freedom by constant use of the syncopation, of alternate double and triple time, and of any device which ingenuity can contrive to bring us nearer to the natural freedom of Chant. The modern composer in search of variety of mode makes pathetic excursions into the music of various nationalities; he borrows the scale of the Hungarian, the Arabian, the Norwegian; he makes use of negro melodies, of Irish melodies, of Indian melodies, and imitates the freedom of rhythm of these peculiar styles. There is a general feeling of unrest in the air, a dissatisfaction with the formalism of our present system. The freedom of mode

and freedom of movement, after which we are striving, is the natural property of Chant.

In listening to Chant, we must listen with the ears of faith. We must enter into the atmosphere that created the art; seize, first of all, the idea, that we may understand the form to which it gave birth. Chant must not be listened to *as music*; for music, in our modern sense, suggests that formal arrangement of sound, that conventionalism, to which our ear is accustomed, and does not, therefore, include Chant in its popular use. Chant is a form of declamation, a musical, and very devotional, recitation of the text. It does not attempt to reproduce the illusion of the text, as in the theatre. It aims higher: at suggesting the sentiments brought out by prayer in the human soul. In this sense its spirit is subjective rather than objective. It seems like a soul bending back upon, and into, itself; a soul meditating inwardly, not a soul expressing itself outwardly. It suggests a meditative mood, and does not give the impression so much of a giving out, as of a taking in.

If the Gregorian Chant makes great demands upon the understanding and sympathy of the listener, how much greater still must be the demands it makes upon the musical and devotional perception of the singer! It needs art of the highest character to render these melodies; and failure to recognize this fact is directly responsible for their present unpopularity. An impression has prevailed that the Gregorian melodies, on account of the simplicity of their intervals, need no study, no artistic rendering; that all they need, in fact, is to be spelled out; whereas, in reality, they demand not only study and art, but genius. If a piece of modern music can be killed by an incorrect performance, how much

more must this be true of Chant, with its exalted aspirations! For this reason the general public could scarcely fail to dislike the Chant in view of the shocking performances by which alone they have been able to hear and judge of its merits; performances on the artistic level of that of a schoolboy spelling out Shakespeare, or an ignorant peasant interpreting Dante. We can now confidently hope for an improvement in this matter. Much of the trouble has been caused by practical difficulties in deciphering the ancient manuscripts, which, owing to the fact that the writers possessed no exact musical notation, and, furthermore, no printing, have come down to us by means of a system of hieroglyphics, something like our modern shorthand, further complicated by the vagaries of the individual copyists. But the last few years have seen the deciphering and arrangement of these melodies on a scientific basis by the Benedictine monks, and there will be no further excuse for incorrect performances.

Not only has the Gregorian been thus, of necessity, condemned without a hearing, but it is also very often condemned without a clear idea of its aims and true meaning, or even, indeed, of its mere technical construction. A Rip Van Winkle of the twelfth century awakened in the twentieth could be hardly more ignorant of our modern music than we are of the Gregorian, nor could he expect to understand our music fully, and sound its artistic depths, without some little study, and something more than a few cursory hearings, confined, perhaps, to its more elementary forms. I therefore plead with the Rip Van Winkle of the twentieth century for a little more patience in his judgment of the art of the past, and a little better understanding of Chant before

he utterly condemns it. At first, indeed, it sounds merely strange; its unfamiliarity alone impresses us, like the sound of a language we do not understand. And, like a new language, its very unfamiliarity lends it a seeming monotony: all the phrases sound alike, because all are equally incomprehensible. But with the key to their meaning this seeming monotony is dispelled, with the clouds of our own ignorance. So it is with this, to us, new art language: the unusual succession of its tones and semitones and the consequent phrases, the unexpected intervals and progressions, are still as unfamiliar idioms. We hear, indeed, but we do not understand. The infinite variety of the modes is, to us, a closed book. But with familiarity and a little study we begin to understand the language, and find ourselves admitted into a new world of artistic possibilities. For Chant is by no means monotonous to trained ears. We have the variety of the eight modes, each one of which corresponds to a separate prayer-mood, and has its own individuality, its own peculiar idioms. We have, furthermore, a variety of form as marked as that which distinguishes the song-form from the sonata, in our modern music. These melodies follow strictly the spirit of the liturgy: they are simple where it is simple, elaborate where it is elaborate. And so there are the simple or syllabic melodies, which have one note only to a syllable; the melodic, which have several notes, or even a group of notes, to a syllable, and finally the florid, which become almost pure song; as, for example, in the Easter Alleluias: here we have reached the emotional altitude where speech ends and music begins, for, unable to express our Easter joy in language, we shout out the cry "Alleluia," while the melody supplies the meaning.

This art had birth with the birth of the liturgy. The liturgy took its present form under St. Gregory, to whom also is due the solid foundation of Chant as an art. Prayer and music were thus the fruit of a common conception, and together grew to maturity in the centuries that followed; together they reached their full height in the golden epoch of Christianity. When correctly rendered, this music breathes forth a spirit of devotion, pure, ardent, tender, truly characteristic of a period that produced a Gregory, a Bernard, a Bonaventura, an Aquinas, a Dominic, a Francis of Assisi, and inspired a Dante, a Fra Angelico, a Della Robbia, a Palestrina. The great masters of asceticism inspired great masterpieces of ascetic art, as by cause and effect. The highest kind of mysticism found expression in these melodies, the full "out-flowering" of the faith meditated upon; and these flowers of art are truly Christianity's own flowers, not, in any sense, flowers engrafted from a foreign stem. The age of faith produced the art of faith. Then came the Renaissance of the sixteenth century, with its return to the study of pagan art-forms, and introduced a pagan spirit into the art of its time. Not that pagan art-forms lead necessarily to the adoption of pagan ideals, nor that Christian art is inconsistent with classical perfection of form. Christian art, like other arts, is perfect only through true perfection of form; but Christian art is opposed, more than all others, to *display* of form, and so the student turns, not unnaturally, to subjects wherein he can give free scope to his powers. With the Renaissance begins the gradual but steady secularization of art, the consequent secularization

of public taste in art, and, as a result, the final intrusion of purely secular art into the church.(1)

In striking contrast to the ascetic ideal is our modern art, the keynote of which is naturalism. Whether it be in literature, in painting, or in music, we are busy portraying and glorifying the purely natural emotions: sorrow is intensified to despair, gayety to ribaldry, love to license. The animating principle of modern art is emotional self-indulgence, a letting down of barriers, rather than a strengthening of the will, which is the Christian ideal. Modern art is a glorification of the line of least resistance: Christian art, the glorification of struggle. The two art tendencies are not antagonistic only—they are contradictory.

If the Christian ideal in its fullness produced the truly Christian art form, may it not be possible, by an inverse process, to enter into the ideal by means of the art; by studying the effect to arrive at a better understanding of the cause? Familiarity with this classic prayer music must reveal something of the prayer ideals which gave

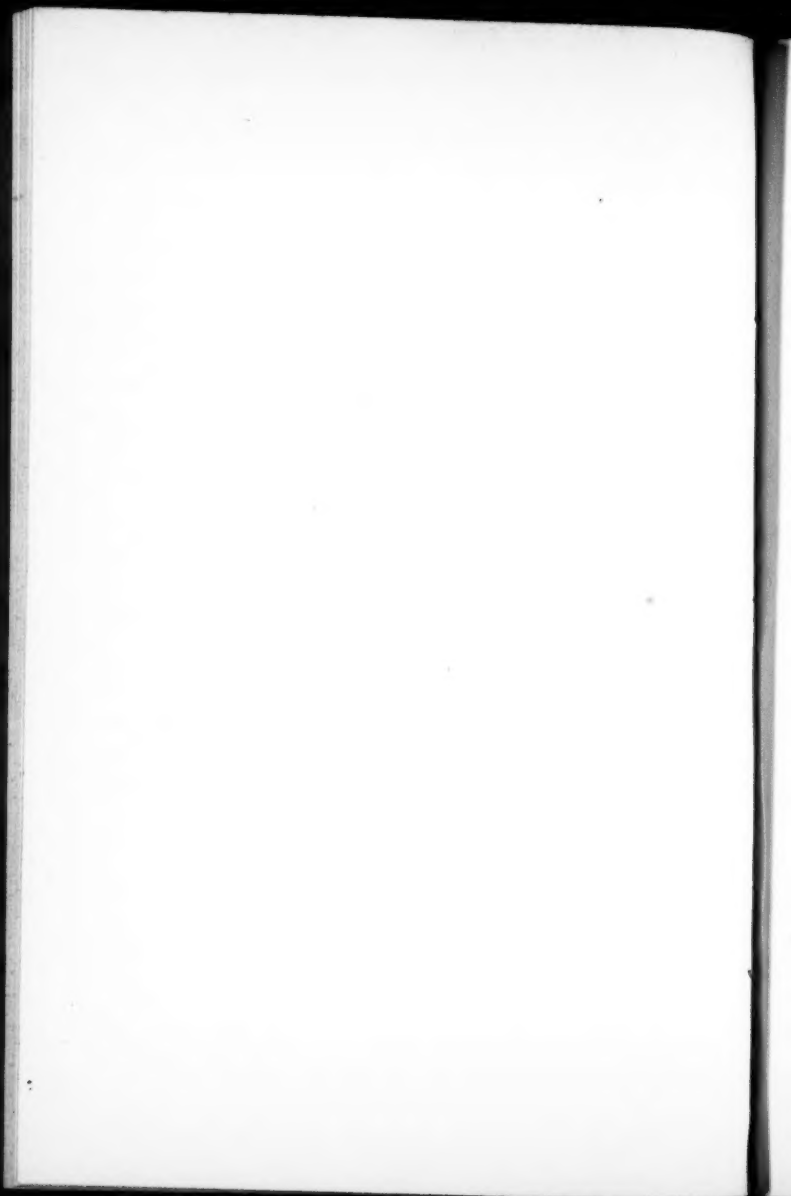
(1) The spirit of Renaissance was essentially opposed to devotion, self-denial, and the purely religious sentiments. We see this, not only in its partiality to pagan subjects and its worldly treatment of sacred history; but also in the profusion of ornament and the sacrifice of everything to mere display by which it is characterized. Skill supersedes careful labor; science takes the place of feeling; and nowhere is the artist forgotten in his work, but rather every stroke of his brush, and every modulation of his color is made to sing the praise of his dexterity. The contrast between that humble but inspired endeavor to work out an unattainable ideal which marked some early artists, and the ease with which the masters of the Renaissance interpreted their own gorgeous but less elevated fancies, has been well drawn by Mr. Browning in *Andrea del Sarto*.—JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS.

it birth, and thus bring about a new era of faith. Does art seem an insignificant approach to such a renaissance of spirituality? Not necessarily, for the language of art is, in a sense, universal, in so far as it touches the sub-conscious personality, and creates a receptive mood. Art cannot do the work, but it can at least pave the way. Piety is not, it is true, a mere matter of the emotions, but real piety, which lies in the intellect and the will, can often be approached and set in motion by means of the emotions; a permanent result be achieved through a transitory cause. The emotions are simply a motive power, but not on that account to be despised. They are to piety what appetite is to physical life: not the food, but the impetus to take food. They are a means to an end. But it is the food itself, and not merely the appetite, which supports life; the appetite simply makes easy and natural what might otherwise be difficult. To stimulate appetite is not, in itself, unsanitary, nor is to stimulate the emotions necessarily unspiritual. But as the emotions are prone to run away with us along false paths, we strive to stimulate them as much as possible along the lines of true piety, that we may absorb food and not poison. That is the theory of ascetic art as a whole, the test of whose value lies simply in the quality of its stimulus.

One more aspect of this movement, which must not be forgotten, is its democratic character. For the carrying out of the full ideal demands the co-operation of the entire people, who will no longer assist at, but take part in, the liturgy. This may not be accomplished in a day, but the Church works for the future, and already she is sowing the seeds. The little Catholic school child is learning to pray, not only in words, but also in song;

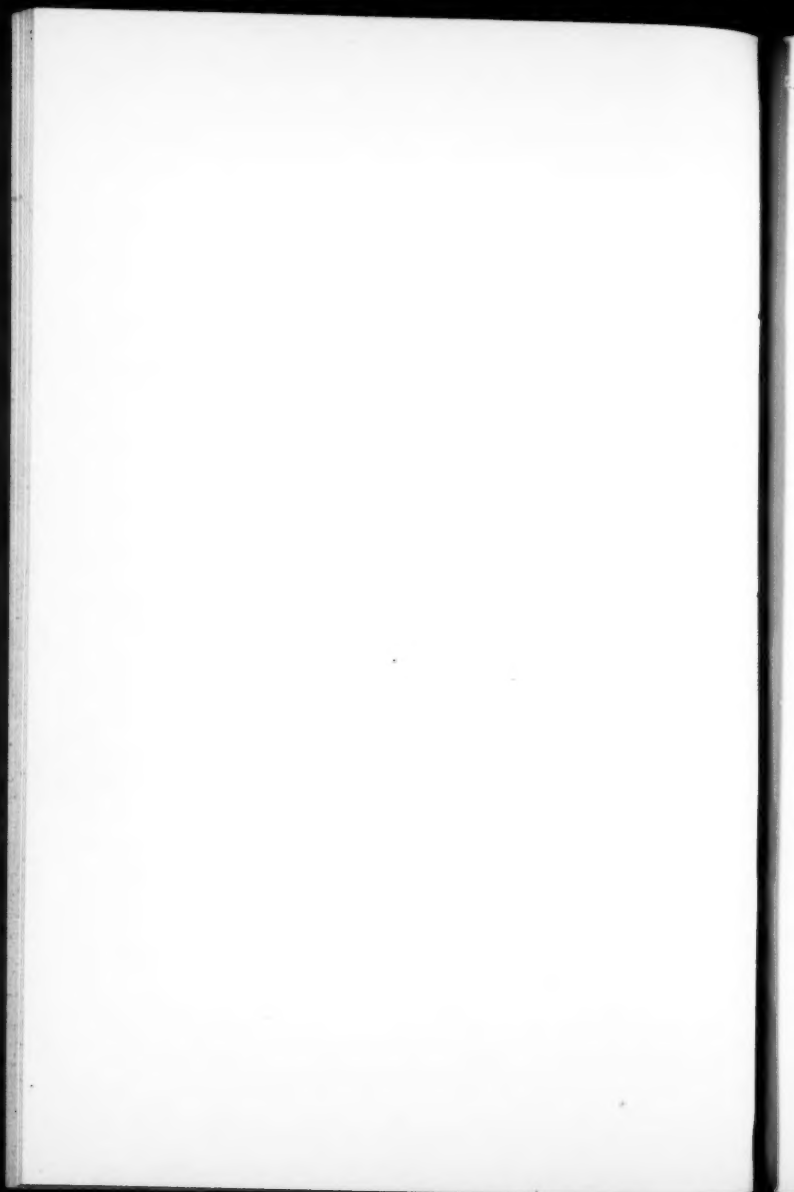
not only in the Church's language, Latin, but in her musical language, Chant; and when these children grow up, our choirs will be the whole Catholic world. While the variable and the more elaborate parts of the liturgy will demand the great genius, the great artist, the simpler parts will be taken up spontaneously by the entire congregation; producing the superb contrast of, on the one hand, the perfection of art, and on the other, the majesty of numbers. This is, indeed, nothing new; it is thus that the liturgy is intended to be rendered; it is thus that it has been rendered in the past, and is still rendered in a few centres of Catholic life. It is simply a return to the true ideal, a "renewing of all things in Christ," a revitalizing, through art, of the spirit of Catholic democracy and universality.

JUSTINE BAYARD WARD.



Science and Religion





Science and Religion⁽¹⁾



I.

THERE can be no question that at the present day nothing so much prejudices religion in the estimation of the multitude as the assumption, well-nigh universal, that between it and science there is, and ever must be, an irreconcilable opposition. And such is the teaching of philosophers whose authority is widely regarded as supreme.

"Of all antagonism of belief [says Herbert Spencer], (2) the oldest, the widest, the most profound and the most important, is that between religion and science."

By "religion," Mr. Spencer understands, as he proceeds to show, every system which teaches, or ever shall teach, a definite doctrine concerning God, or the origin and destiny of Man, and it is obvious that, if it be well-grounded, his statement of the case constitutes a fatal indictment against anything which men understand under the name of "religion," and in particular against Christianity.

I say a *fatal* indictment: for, what is "science"? In the proper sense of the word, "science" signifies "knowledge"—all knowledge which we are able to acquire by the exercise of our intellect. But, obviously,

(1) Being the substance of a lecture.

(2) *First Principles* (Edit. 1900), p. 9.

we can by no possibility believe anything which contradicts what we know, for this would be to believe what we know to be untrue. And this still holds good though we restrict the name of science, as is now commonly done, and as I shall therefore do, to *physical* science, to that branch which deals solely with sensible phenomena: for within this limited field knowledge is knowledge still, supposing it to deserve its name, and whatever scientific investigation really proves to be true, is clear evidence that whatever is incompatible with it must be false.

Moreover, as regards physical science in particular, though it does not cover the whole field of human knowledge, yet the truths which it discloses are borne in upon us with a force and directness which is peculiarly their own, coming as they do through our senses, those "Gates of Mansoul" through which all premises or data of inference must needs reach us. Indeed, it is for this very reason, according to Mr. Spencer, that the partisans of religion abhor science so much as they are supposed to do. He tells us, (1)

"It is because they are conscious how undeniably valid are most of its propositions, that the theological party regard science with so much alarm."

It is therefore quite evident that *if* the statement of the case which we have heard be the true one, the prospects of religion are hopeless, and it can never find adherents amongst those who enjoy the illumination which science brings. But this is a big "If," and since science herself teaches as a first principle that we must take nothing on trust, nor assent to anything without good and sufficient reason, we must satisfy ourselves that science really *does*

(1) Op. cit., p. 15.

contradict religion, so that every sensible man who uses his reason is forced of necessity to renounce either one or the other.

Here, to begin with, we must endeavor clearly to understand of what we are speaking, and to inquire more precisely what science is, and what is religion—and we will commence with the former.

Science, then, that is to say physical science, as has already been said, is that branch of human knowledge which is concerned with sensible phenomena and the inferences to be drawn therefrom. As Newman puts it:(1)

“In physics is comprised that family of sciences which is concerned with the sensible world, with the phenomena which we see, hear, and handle, or in other words with matter. It is the philosophy of matter. Its basis of operations, what it starts from, what it falls back upon, is the phenomena which meet the senses.”

The man of science must therefore, in the first place and before aught else, set himself to investigate the facts of nature, to ascertain how her operations actually proceed. By means of the phenomena which they exhibit, he learns that all matter is not specifically the same, that the material universe is composed of various kinds of ultimate elements—as all our literature is made up of the different letters of the alphabet,—all the elements of each kind resembling one another exactly in every respect. He finds, moreover, that the matter which these elements constitute is acted upon by forces of various character—physical, chemical, electrical, mag-

(1) *Christianity and Physical Science* (“University Subjects,” p. 227).

netic, vital—of which forces he can learn something from the behavior of matter under their influence.

These phenomena, telling of matter and force, are the stock in trade of science, or the raw material on which it works. To quote Newman again:

“These phenomena it ascertains, catalogues, compares, combines, arranges, and then uses for determining something beyond themselves, viz., the order to which they are subservient, or what we call the laws of nature. It never travels beyond the examination of cause and effect. Its object is to resolve the complexity of phenomena into simple elements and principles; but when it has reached these first elements, principles, and laws, its mission is at an end; it keeps within that material system, with which it began, and never ventures beyond the ‘*flammantia mœnia mundi*.’”

Pursuing such investigations, the first great and fundamental principle which science discovers, and that on which all her processes absolutely depend, is the uniformity of physical nature. Matter of the same kind, under the action of force of the same kind, behaves always in exactly the same way: and similar forces under similar conditions produce always identically similar effects. It is only because what is found once to happen, may be counted upon always to happen in like cases, that we are able from observation of particular instances to deduce general laws of universal application,—as those of gravitation—molecular dynamics—chemical reaction—electricity—magnetism—and the like; and it is likewise thus alone that we are able to subjugate the forces of nature to our own purposes. Only because we know precisely what they will do under certain conditions can we employ heat, electricity, chemical affinities, light, vital

processes, and all the rest, as we have learnt to depend upon them, in a thousand operations in our industries and manufactures.

That science within these her proper limits, and by means of her own proper methods, over and above her "practical" achievements, has immensely extended our knowledge, as compared with that of previous ages, he would be a fool that should deny. She has looked a long way beneath the surface of matter and into its constitution—resolving masses into molecules, molecules into atoms, and, quite recently, atoms themselves into "ions": by means of the spectroscope she has determined the physical constitution of the stars, and discovered in them the same elements of which our own globe is composed: she has by the same instrument discovered and measured motions of heavenly bodies, not betrayed by any change of apparent position discernible by our eyes; she has traced all organic life back to the structureless cell from which in its most complex as in its simplest forms it invariably starts; she has detected in the biological, and especially in the embryological history of living things, a multitude of features which link together creatures seemingly most diverse, and point to a law of development regulating their production; and she has pieced together from the evidence recorded in the rocks, the history of life upon our globe, and its gradual development from primitive, almost structureless plants and animals, through ever-increasing and unimaginable degrees of complexity—culminating in the appearance of the human race.

All this science has done, and undoubtedly she has not reached the term of her discoveries, but, on the contrary, we may confidently anticipate that the course before her

will be marked by triumphs no less signal than those of the recent past.

Therefore it is,—because she has achieved so much, and proved herself capable of doing much more,—that we are so often bidden to accept her as our one and only guide, philosopher, and friend, to whom is given the key of all knowledge, and who, whatever mysteries there may still remain for her to explore, has at least thoroughly dissipated the fogs and vapors begotten of delusions, which, under the title of religion, have hitherto been able to deceive so many generations of men. To take but one instance wherein this idea is frankly and crudely exhibited. In a recent work, a popular writer who, though not a man of science, has the name of science constantly in his mouth,(1) tells us that the soul of man “is exhibited by science as a function of his perishing body,” and he goes on to imply that no one, whatever his prepossessions in the opposite direction, can reasonably refuse to be convinced, since every time that he does but turn on the electric light, he has proof positive of what science can accomplish and of the soundness of her methods.

But here the obvious question must at once suggest itself,—By what process of reasoning does it follow, that because science can do so much, there is nothing which she cannot do? As we have seen, she is of her very nature limited to one field of study, that which can be pursued by investigation of sensible phenomena. On what sort of foundation is the assumption based that there are no truths within reach of our minds, which we can never know by any method of physical science, but of which nevertheless we attain a certitude altogether tran-

(1) W. H. Mallock, *The Reconstruction of Belief*.

scending that which scientific demonstration can produce? Are there not fields of knowledge open to us which lie in a totally different plane from that in which science moves, one in which, should she attempt its exploration, she must be far more out of place than an elephant in the sky, or a whale in a tropical forest? Indeed, the very brilliancy of her achievements within her own department serves more and more vividly to show how rigid are its limits, and how inconceivable it is that she can ever overstep them—for none can possibly imagine that a microscope or spectroscope will ever be invented to discover fresh beauties in Shakespeare,—or an automatic machine to compose original music or poetry,—or, to take Professor Huxley's example, a chemical test to distinguish truth from falsehood in the history of Rome.

Here, it is evident, we are in the province not of matter but of mind, and have to deal with mental, not physical, phenomena. Yet we are no less certain of the truths to which we are thus conducted, than of those which come through the hands of science. We are no better assured that the earth revolves and rotates, or that water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen, or that the energy of motion can be converted into heat, than we are that Shakespeare is full of beauties, or that the history of Julius Cæsar is better authenticated than that of Romulus and Remus.

And it is across this dividing line, between mind and matter, that the truths of religion must lie if they are anywhere to be found.

For what is religion? this it is no less necessary clearly to understand, than what is science. As it is Mr. Herbert Spencer's opinion concerning their mutual relations

which we are examining, let us see in the first place what meaning he attaches to the term. In his view religion is primarily not a rule of living, but an intellectual doctrine. In his own words:(1)

"Leaving out the accompanying code of conduct, which is a supplementary growth, a religious creed is definable as a theory of original causation."

Thus, according to Mr. Spencer, religion is essentially a philosophical doctrine concerning the original cause of all things; on which is grafted, as a supplementary growth, something in the way of a moral law."

Mr. Frederic Harrison, on the other hand, considers this last to be the all-important feature:

"Is religion [he asks(2)] a mode of answering a question in ontology, or is it an institution affecting human life by acting on the human spirit?"

"In any reasonable use of language, religion implies some kind of belief in a Power outside ourselves, some kind of awe and gratitude felt for that Power, some kind of influence exerted by it over our lives."

Over such difference of opinion we need not linger, nor inquire which of our philosophers is in the right. Suffice it for our purpose, that, according to both, religion has a double aspect and a double function. It teaches men what to believe about the ultimate Cause of nature and ourselves, and it adds, whether as a supplementary growth or as an integral part of itself, a rule of conduct, or in other words, a law of right and wrong.

But what can science have to say on the one subject or the other? None of her methods can possibly reach the First Cause, just because it is the First. She pro-

(1) *First Principles*, p. 37.

(2) *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1884, pp. 504 and 499.

ceeds, and can only proceed, by tracing through phenomena a chain of what she styles causes and effects, which we should more correctly term conditions and consequences; for none of these so-called causes but is the result of something else. Science of herself, can tell us nothing save of the phenomenal, that is to say, of the mutable, of what is affected by the action of force independent of its own. When she gets beyond the realm of physical phenomena, she is as helpless as a man under an air-pump, for such phenomena are to her the breath of life. Even within her own province, when she arrives at the recognition of mere force, acting upon material objects, but subject to no action which she can discover from outside itself to modify its character—that is to say, to produce phenomena in it—she finds herself utterly in the dark as to the nature of such force. What it can *do* she learns from its physical effects, what it *is* she cannot learn, for lack of such evidence as could be afforded only by the phenomena exhibited under the action of another force.

For example, the best known and best established of all scientific laws is that of Universal Gravitation, which teaches that every material particle in the universe attracts every other such particle, with a force which varies directly with the mass of the attracting particle, and inversely as the square of the distance between the two. This, however, tells us no more than that all bodies within our observation tend to draw together as though under the influence of such a force; and, since there can be no effect without a cause, we assume with confidence that such a force exists, and we call it the Force of Gravitation. But there our knowledge of it ends. Of its nature we know absolutely nothing, neither

whether it be in reality a pulling or a pushing force,—whether it acts without a medium to convey its action,—whether this can be possible,—or, if there is a medium, what that medium is. On such points and others we are so entirely in the dark that Sir John Herschel termed Gravitation “the mystery of mysteries,” and Faraday considered its law, as above stated, to be an obvious paradox. So, again, freely as we now employ electricity, no man of science has the faintest conception what it is; nor what are chemical affinities and valencies;—nor, above all, life; even in its lowliest manifestations, in the most primitive protozoon, or the flower in the crannied wall.

This being so, how shall science disclose anything of the Supreme Cause, wherein all power must of necessity be included,—which is all force and energy,—acting upon every particle in the universe, and subject to no action or alteration—transcending all possibility of observation in a degree infinitely beyond these physical forces which remain to us so incomprehensible?

Nor is it otherwise if we turn our attention to the other element of religion—the Ethical Code. Science is no more capable of discriminating between good and evil, right and wrong, than between beauty and ugliness, between a poet and a poetaster. She can furnish no possible explanation of the moral law, can tell us nothing of the nature of the obligation to observe its precepts, nor of the sanctions under which it is imposed. She can therefore give us no knowledge concerning our relations towards the Supreme Power at the back of the sensible universe, so that it shall influence our lives. These things lie entirely beyond the frontiers of the realm of matter, and in that of mind. It is as inconceivable that any

scientific observation or experiment should cast any light on such subjects, as that an echo should respond not by repeating a question but by supplying an answer.

Thus, there can in reality be no collision between science and religion, any more than between our earth and the planet Jupiter while each keeps its own orbit. The so-called conflicts, which are so frequent, can occur only when the champions of religion on the one side, or of science on the other, do not keep to their own territory, but strive to invade that of the others as if it belonged to them. Whatever may have been the case in former days, it is undoubtedly the professed partisans of science who at present are responsible for such aggressions, and so frequent are their incursions, so dogmatic their utterances on the subject of religion, that many will doubtless find it hard to believe that I mean what I have said. Are we not all familiar with assertions made by those who claim to promulgate the latest results of scientific discovery, that an end has for ever been made of belief in God, in man's immortal soul, and future destiny,—even of his free will? But such assertions are made by "scientists" rather than by scientific men in the proper sense of the word,—and to show what they are worth I will cite the testimony of some whose authority none will question, and whom none will suspect of any prejudice against science, or desire to deny to her anything in the way of knowledge which she is entitled to claim.

Such a one, without doubt, is Professor Huxley. He tells us not only that science has discovered nothing to disprove belief in God, or our own immortality, but that she actually makes it impossible to find arguments within her sphere in contradiction of such belief.

"Science [he writes] has no more to say against the

doctrine [Theism] than the most ordinary experience has, and it effectually closes the mouths of those who pretend to refute it by objections deduced from physical data." (1)

And again: (2)

"The so-called *à priori* arguments against Theism . . . appear to me to be devoid of reasonable foundation."

And once more: (3)

"The philosophical difficulties of Theism now are neither greater nor less than they have been ever since Theism was invented."

Still more explicit is Professor Ray Lankester, the distinguished director of our Natural History Museum, writing thus: (4)

"So far as I have been able to ascertain, after many years in which these matters have engaged my attention, there is no relation in the sense of a connection or influence, between science and religion. There is, it is true, often an antagonistic relation between exponents of science and exponents of religion, when the latter illegitimately misrepresent or deny the conclusions of scientific research, or try to prevent its being carried on, or, again when the former presume, by magnifying the extremely limited conclusions of science, to deal in a destructive spirit with the very existence of those beliefs and hopes which are called 'religion.' Setting aside such excusable and purely personal collisions between rival claimants for authority and power, it appears to me that science proceeds on its path without any contact with

(1) *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. XL, 1886.

(2) *Reception of the Origin of Species*.

(3) *Life and Letters*, II, p. 467.

(4) Letter to the *Times*, May 19, 1903.

religion, and that religion has not, in its essential qualities, anything to hope from, or to fear from, science.

"The whole order of nature, including living and lifeless matter—man, animal, and gas—is a network of mechanism, the main features and many details of which have been made more or less obvious to the wondering intelligence of mankind by the labor and ingenuity of scientific investigators. But no sane man has ever pretended, since science became a definite body of doctrine, that we know, or ever can hope to know, or conceive of the possibility of knowing, whence this mechanism has come, why it is there, whither it is going, and what there may be or may not be beyond and beside it which our senses are incapable of appreciating. These things are not 'explained' by science, and never can be."

Here then is the first main conclusion to which we are led, that science, as science, and by the use of scientific methods, can neither prove nor disprove anything concerning that which is the essence of religion, a conclusion which will best be summed up in the words of Newman.(1)

"With matter science began, with matter it will end. It will never trespass into the province of mind. The Hindoo notion is said to be, that the earth stands upon a tortoise; but the physicist, as such, will never ask himself by what influence, external to the universe, the universe is sustained; simply because he *is* a physicist. . . . The physical philosopher has nothing whatever to do with final causes, and he will get into inextricable confusion if he introduces them into his investigations. He has to look in one definite direction, not in any other.

(1) *Christianity and Physical Science*, "Lectures on University Subjects," p. 228.

It is said that in some countries, when a stranger asks his way, he is at once questioned in turn, what place he came from: something like this would be the unreasonableness of a physicist inquiring how the phenomena and laws of the material world primarily came to be, when his simple task is that of ascertaining what they are. Within the limits of those phenomena he may speculate and prove; he may trace the operation of the laws of matter through periods of time; he may penetrate into the past, and anticipate the future; he may recount the changes which they have effected upon matter, and the rise, growth, and decay of phenomena; and so in a certain sense he may write the history of the material world, as far as he can; still he will always advance from phenomena, and conclude upon the internal evidence they supply. He will not come near the questions, what that ultimate element is, which we call matter, how it came to be, whether it can cease to be, whether it ever was not, whether it will ever come to nought, in what its laws really consist, whether they can cease to be, whether they can be suspended, what causation is, what time is, what the relations of time to cause and effect, and a hundred other questions of similar character."

We may therefore, in the first place, take it as established that, whatever may be asserted by irresponsible and inexact writers or speakers, there cannot possibly be any positive conflict between science and religion: and here we will stop for the present.

II.

As we have seen, by the acknowledgment of her most capable representatives, physical science says and can say nothing against the fundamental doctrines upon which

religion ultimately rests, "simply because it says nothing at all on the subject, nor can do so by the very undertaking with which it set out. The question is simply *extra artem*." (1)

It necessarily follows that, for the same reason, science has nothing to tell us in favor of these same doctrines, which, lying as they do outside the sphere of sensible phenomena, cannot be got at by physical methods, and so are incapable of "scientific" treatment. But this absolute silence of science in their regard is by many taken to show that the truths which religion professes to teach, either have no existence at all, or, at best, are utterly beyond our ken, and must ever remain "unknowable." The same witnesses whom we have heard declare that science furnishes no positive argument against religious belief, are nevertheless quite satisfied that the negative argument of her silence is quite sufficient to extinguish all such beliefs, as having no reasonable grounds to justify them.

Thus, Professor Huxley adopts the principle of Hume, that no real knowledge can be acquired except by means of mathematics, or of experiment—that is to say, by the methods of science—and that any pretended knowledge, otherwise obtained, can be but sophistry and illusion, and he exhorts us, (2) on the strength of this principle, not to trouble ourselves concerning matters of which, however important they may be, we know nothing, and can know nothing." And he lays it down as an indisputable truth, that to occupy ourselves about the teach-

(1) Newman, *Christianity and Physical Science*, "Lectures on University Subjects," p. 228.

(2) "The Physical Basis of Life," *Lay Sermons*, p. 145.

ings of religion, is as futile as to inquire what are the politics of the men in the moon." (1)

In like manner, we have heard Professor Ray Lankester declare, that we neither know, nor can ever hope to know, nor even conceive of the possibility of knowing, anything about that of which science can never tell.

Here is another question to be examined, one quite as crucial as that which has hitherto occupied our attention. Is it a true principle, that whatever is beyond the scope of experimental science is therefore necessarily beyond the reach of our intellect? Or have we any reason for saying, that because science has in recent times discovered so much, she has therefore proved her right to a monopoly of knowledge, so that whatever cannot be learnt from her cannot be learnt at all?

Here, we must again remind ourselves what "science" is. In one sense of the term, as we have seen, "science" stands for the record of facts discovered by observation and experiment. In another sense, which is also very frequent, it stands for that use of our natural faculties by which such discoveries are made. Looked at thus, science, according to Professor Huxley, (2) is nothing else but "trained and organized common sense." The man of science, he tells us, "merely does carefully and accurately what all of us do every day with less care and precision." And similarly, Mr. Spencer tells us, (3) "Science is simply a higher development of common knowledge." Thus, it does but improve an instrument which men have used since the beginning of time; it does not alter its nature, nor confer upon it potentialities pre-

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 144.

(2) "Value of Natural History Sciences," *Lay Sermons*, p. 75.

(3) *First Principles*, p. 14 (Ed. 1900).

viously alien to that nature. The advances made are of degree only, not of kind. We may, no doubt, anticipate immense improvements in the telescopes and microscopes of the future, which shall reveal myriads of stars still hidden in the depths of space, and particles of matter, besides which atoms, or even "ions," are as mountains to molehills. But we cannot even conceive that such instruments can ever avail, any more than our unassisted vision, to discern the attraction itself which holds the stars in their courses, or the principle of life, or the laws of nature which we detect only through the order of the cosmos which is their result. The optical aids which science devises, do not give us new eyes of another character, they do but enable those we possess to see further into the heights and depths of nature; not to see what was and is of its very nature invisible to them. And so of all scientific advances; they enable us to know more concerning matter and physical forces, but they leave us exactly where men always were as to whatever lies beyond.

As Macaulay writes of the assumption that progress of natural knowledge must needs affect and modify religious belief:(1)

"The argument which we are considering, seems to us to be founded on an entire mistake. There are branches of knowledge with respect to which the law of the human mind is progress. In mathematics, when once a proposition has been demonstrated, it is never afterwards contested. Here, therefore, there is a constant addition to the stock of truth. In the inductive sciences again, the law is progress. Every day furnishes new facts, and thus brings theory nearer and nearer to perfection. . . .

(1) *Essay on Ranke's "History of the Popes."*

But with theology the case is very different. As respects natural religion,—revelation being for the present left altogether out of the question,—it is not easy to see that a philosopher of the present day is more favorably situated than Thales or Simonides. He has before him just the same evidences of design in the structure of the universe which the early Greeks had. . . . As to the other great question, what becomes of man after death, we do not see that a highly educated European, left to his unassisted reason, is more likely to be in the right than a Blackfoot Indian. Not a single one of the many sciences in which we surpass the Blackfoot Indians throws the smallest light on the state of the soul after the animal life is extinct."

But, what means have we, apart from the methods of physical science, of arriving at the knowledge of truth? Of what character is the reasoning whereby in all ages men have supposed that they could arrive at certitude in regard of that which lies beyond the pale of sensible experience, so as to convince themselves of its existence, and to some extent of its properties?

It is essentially the same method by which the highest triumphs of science are achieved, namely inference from phenomena,—but with this difference that the phenomena now in question are recognizable by the mind alone, not by eye, or ear, or touch. And at the very base of this inferential process is identically the same first principle upon which common sense and experience alike teach science to depend, namely, the principle of causality, an act of faith in which must, according to Professor Huxley,(1) be made by the convert to science at the very out-

(1) "On the Reception of the *Origin of Species*" (*Life of Darwin*, II, p. 200).

set of his career. This principle teaches that nothing can happen without a cause; that whatever begins to be must owe its existence to some pre-existent force; and that, therefore, whatever we find in being, but which manifestly cannot explain, of itself, how it came to be, clearly testifies to the existence of something which can account for it.

It is thus, for instance, that we are able to satisfy ourselves of the reality of gravitation, which we cannot see, or hear, or touch, on account of the phenomena which we observe in the flowing of rivers, or the rise and fall of tides, or the periodic motion of the moon, and which we can explain only by assuming the existence of such a force. In like manner, the spectroscope assures us that hydrogen and other elementary substances are found in the stars, because the lines exhibited by analysis of their light, are the same as those produced by the light of these substances in our laboratories. We take for granted, that these lines do not come of themselves, but are products of a cause, and as we cannot imagine any other cause for this phenomenon but the specific identity of the substances whence such light is emitted, we assume with absolute confidence that the substances are thus identical, and it has been suggested that a well-known nursery rhyme should in the light of modern discovery be rewritten, thus,

“Twinkle, twinkle, little star,
Now we all know what you are—
Sodium fumes, and flames of tin
And incandescent hydrogen.”

Nor must it be forgotten that, as has been pointed out already, in such inferences from phenomena we can pro-

ceed only so far as the phenomena take us, and no further. We learn from the lines in the spectroscope the presence of certain substances which, according to past experience, are alone capable of producing certain effects. But there we stop; of the substances themselves we know nothing more than the effects tell us. How sodium came to be sodium, and not tin or hydrogen,—how each of them acquired its own distinctive characteristics and qualities,—why some of these elements are abundant in nature, and others rare—as to such questions, and a multitude of others like them, we are as utterly in the dark as ever. This alone we know, that since the phenomena give evidence of the action of force, such force must exist as can cause the phenomena.

It is in precisely the same manner, and upon the same fundamental principle, that we proceed in regard of the truths of natural religion, which must of necessity be the preparation for the acceptance of revealed doctrines, and to which at present we confine our attention. As the case is excellently put by a recent writer:(1)

“Taking the three factors of the universe—matter, force, and mind—we find this state of things. The ‘philosophers’ see as much as they want to see, and no more. These three mysterious entities lie equally behind the veil, are equally ‘metaphysical conceptions.’ Natural phenomena bear witness to the existence of all three in exactly the same way, viz., by special characteristics from which we necessarily *infer* the existence of each. From the reality of these phenomena, we infer a real basis, matter; from their actual occurrence, we infer an agent or power at work, *force*; from their orderly character we infer a controlling and guiding influence, *mind*. Why

(1) Gaynor, *The New Materialism*, p. 138.

are two of these inferences valid, although they point to things 'behind the veil,' while the third is to be regarded as invalid, *because* it too points to something behind the veil? If we are able to read the existence of two of these things in their effects, why not that of the third as well? The evidence is as plain in one case as another."

Unquestionably, there are phenomena observable by the mind alone from which inferences can be drawn, which—to put it at the lowest—are no less valid than those which that same mind is alone capable of drawing from phenomena which are sensible. They meet us on every side, and are indeed exhibited to the thoughtful everywhere throughout nature, from end to end. But some are more likely than others to catch our attention, and their lesson is more obvious: one or two such let us now examine.

In the first place, there is that of the order of the Universe, and its domination by law. So indisputable is its reality that Professor Huxley couples it with the principle of Causality itself as the object of the great Act of Faith, with which he bids the scientific neophyte commence his initiation. He must start, the Professor warns him, (1) with "the confession of the universality of order, and of the absolute validity, in all times and under all circumstances, of the law of causation." Indeed, it is upon the former no less than upon the latter that the very existence of science entirely depends. Were she not absolutely certain that the forces of nature will infallibly follow the paths along which, as past experience has shown, they respectively travel to their results, and which we term their "laws,"—were it not for this, science

(1) *Ubi sup.*

could never take a step; for she can proceed only—as has been said—by tracing phenomena to their cause, and what in each case the cause is, she can gather only from such laws. Nor otherwise could she ever assure herself, as she confidently does, that, however far her researches and discovery may be pushed, she will find everywhere the same law and order, forces so combined and co-ordinated as to produce those harmonious results which it is her pride to disclose. Such a phenomenon can be recognized by mind alone, and to mind alone does it point as the force that has produced it. For here we have to do with a result which, as experience proves, lies in quite another sphere than the physical, and the cause of which, our reason tells us, it is far less possible to find in physical forces, than to suppose Tenterden steeple to be the cause of the Goodwin Sands.

Or to take another example; there is the absolute distinction between right and wrong, a phenomenon, again, which the mind alone can discover, but of which we are more certain than of anything else. That distinction, we are sure, no power on earth can obliterate. Were all the monarchs and all the parliaments of the world to decree that henceforth dishonesty, mendacity, and cruelty shall be good, and justice, truth and benevolence bad,—it would make no difference whatever; no more than if these authorities should ordain that in future two and two shall make five, or the sun rise in the West, or thistles bear figs. *Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum*, says old Horace,—“Silver is less precious than gold, and gold than virtue.” It is quite conceivable that the common consent of mankind might reverse the first part, and, by agreeing to set a higher value on silver, make it more valuable than gold. But it could no more

make gold preferable to virtue, than it could make it lighter than silver. For here is something which has its roots in the very nature of things, where its cause must be sought; and,—since it exists in the region of the mind only, being non-existent for any creature not possessed of reason at least on a level with ours,—it postulates Mind as the cause to which alone it can be due.

It is by inference from phenomena such as the above, that we are led to the recognition of a self-existent Power at the back of the universe, which is the Cause whence alone can nature have derived all she has,—not merely that stuff whereof the material world is made, and those forces which have made it what it is, but likewise those ideals of the good, the true, and the beautiful, which are stamped with a reality transcending that of sensible experience,—as well as the moral law imprinted in our souls. And this ultimate cause we call God.

At this point we again encounter the Agnostic system of Mr. Herbert Spencer. He began, as will be remembered, by pronouncing that between science and religion there must be eternal conflict,—but he goes on to explain that this verdict is not to be understood according to the letter, but to be interpreted philosophically. In so speaking, he signifies by “religion” any *definite* doctrine concerning the origin of all things, and therefore all religious systems that have hitherto been known upon this earth; since all, by claiming the possession of knowledge which is wholly unattainable, have incorporated with themselves an element of essential falsehood. But nevertheless, he continues, in its pure and sublimated form, purged of such errors, religion is not irrational, and does not conflict with science; on the contrary, (1)

(1) *First Principles*, p. 16.

"There must be right on both sides of this great controversy. Religion, everywhere present as a warp running through the weft of human history, expresses some eternal fact; while science is an organized body of truths, ever growing, and ever purified from errors. And if both have bases in the reality of things, then between them there must be a fundamental harmony. It is impossible that there should be two orders of truth in absolute and everlasting opposition. . . . Science and religion express opposite sides of the same fact; the one its near or visible side, the other its remote or invisible side."

As the final term of his philosophy, Mr. Spencer arrives at this pure and impregnable religion—the religion of the Unknowable. He is as firmly convinced as any Theist that our reason forces us to recognize at the back of the sensible universe an existence, which is of itself, and from which all else derives its being. In his own words: (1)

"Amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty, that [man] is ever in presence of an Infinite Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed."

At first sight, we might be tempted to think this much the same as our own conclusion: but this would be entirely a mistake. Mr. Spencer's primal Energy is not God, and has no resemblance to God; for we must not endow it with those attributes which are inseparable from Divinity. We must not conceive of it as possessing intelligence, or free-will, as having any purpose in giving us our being, or as imposing upon us any duties or obligations. We

(1) "Religion: A Retrospect and Prospect," *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1884, p. 12.

have no warrant for supposing that it is not as blind and determinate in its operations as the forces of Nature themselves, inevitably conditioned to produce certain effects, and no others. For it is essentially "unknowable" by our intellect, and to profess any knowledge concerning it, is at once to introduce that taint of error which has hitherto vitiated all religious belief.

If Mr. Spencer is right, it is clear that the argument for Theism, which we have attempted to construct, is radically unsound, and we must be satisfied with the conclusion that the ultimate term of scientific knowledge is recognition of our utter ignorance concerning all that is really worth knowing, and must take refuge, as Newman says,⁽¹⁾ in the intolerable paradox that men are created for nothing, and are meant to leave life as they entered it.

Here, again, we have to say that such is the case *if* Mr. Spencer's philosophy is sound. Whether it really is so, is another question.

Apparently, by "Unknowable," he means "incomprehensible," and adopts the principle that we can have no true knowledge at all of that about which we do not know everything. But, were this so, it would follow at once that we know nothing about anything,—that science, equally with religion, convicts itself of imposture by claiming knowledge,—and that those who, like Mr. Spencer himself, spend their lives in solemnly producing large systems of philosophy, are engaged in a labor as futile as that of pouring water into a sieve. For, as we have seen, even those physical operations and forces by study of which science effects all her advances, can be known to her only as far as phenomena supply data for inference, and, beyond that point, remain shrouded in eternal

(1) *Grammar of Assent*, p. 93.

mystery. Yet who, and especially what man of science, has any doubt of the value of his knowledge thus obtained, because it extends no further than it does?

We have, for example, no doubt whatever that the undulations of the ether which we call light, and those of the air which we call sound, cause us to see and hear. But *how* they do so we have not the faintest conception, and in regard of the transition from such physical conditions to effects of consciousness Professor Tyndall uses language very similar to that which we have heard from Professor Lankester, as to the impossibility of passing from the facts of nature to religious truth. He says: (1)

"We do not possess the intellectual organ, nor apparently any rudiments of an organ, which would enable us to pass by a process of reasoning from one to the other. They appear together, but we do not know why. . . . The chasm between the two classes remains still intellectually impassable."

Lack of complete knowledge, therefore, even when knowledge is to ignorance but as a drop to the ocean, does not debar the knowledge we have from being sound, so far as it goes. From observation of an effect we can with certitude conclude that a cause of that effect exists, and one capable of producing it, though of the real nature of that cause we know no more than of the moon's other face which is turned ever away from our sight.

But more than this, Mr. Spencer bears witness against himself, in claiming to know not a little about his "Unknowable," and this with a certitude transcending all other. He knows that it is Infinite, that it is Eternal, that it is Energy, that it is One, and that from it all else pro-

(1) *Presidential Address, British Association, Section A, 1868 (Norwich).*

ceeds. This is certainly a good deal to know concerning the Unknowable; and if we can learn so much, why not more, which we can reach by inference based on that same principle of causality which guides him to his own conclusion?

How, says Mr. Spencer, can we reasonably conclude, that the ultimate and original Force, possesses intelligence and free will, enabling it to act as it elects to act; that it is not blind and determinate in its operations, as is electricity or heat, but a free personal agent, like ourselves?

All this we learn in exactly the same manner as Mr. Spencer learns that from eternity energy has existed. His belief is founded on the fact that energy exists now, and could never have arisen out of nothing, or from anything but a cause already possessed of it. In exactly the same way we argue that there was intelligence and freedom of will from eternity, because there are intelligence and free will now, and to say that they are derived from a source not intelligent and not free, is to say that they come into being without a cause—or, which is the same thing, that the cause is less than its effect. No amount of mere physical force can compensate lack of intelligence. As Pascal has finely said:

"I understand my weakness, and nature does not understand her strength, and for that reason I am superior to that very strength."

Evidently, this same line of argument may be carried much further. Everywhere in nature, as has been said, we discover laws,—laws of wondrous beauty and complexity, the verification of which is considered by science to be the supreme achievement of the human intellect. But, which seems to be often forgotten, men of science

do not make these laws, they only discover what already exists, and has existed and operated since the beginning of time. But, as Professor Baden Powell argues,⁽¹⁾

"That which requires thought and reason to understand must be itself thought and reason. That which mind alone can investigate or express must be itself mind."

Or, as the deist Diderot exclaims:

"What? Shall the formation of the world be less a proof of intelligence than the explanation of it?"

Therefore, wherever the mind of man can penetrate the secret places of nature, he finds that there has been mind there before him, as surely as Crusoe knew that there had been a man there, when he found a footprint in the sand. And thus we find the illustrious Kepler, after his brilliant discovery of the laws which still bear his name, and are second only to those of Newton, exclaiming in awe and wonder:

"O God, I think Thy thoughts after Thee."

It is no less obvious, that since by the freedom of our will we are masters of our own actions, there must from the beginning have been a free will. That our will is free, I will not stop to argue, nor to consider the objections by which certain philosophers undertake to convince us that it is not. Dr. Johnson gave a reply to their subtleties which is quite sufficient for common sense. "Sir, we *know* that our will is free: and there's an end on't." We are in fact assured of this truth in a far higher degree, than of the premises from which its assailants conduct their attack,—so firmly assured that even those very persons who in theory deny that the will

(1) *Order of Nature*, p. 239.

is free, are quite unable in practice to adopt their own belief: As Mr. Balfour writes:(1)

"The spectacle of all mankind suffering under the delusion that in their decision they are free, when, as a matter of fact, they are nothing of the kind, must certainly appear extremely ludicrous to any superior observer, were it possible to conceive, on the naturalistic hypothesis, that such observers should exist; and the comedy could not be otherwise than greatly relieved and heightened by the performances of the small sect of philosophers who, knowing perfectly well as an abstract truth that freedom is an absurdity, yet in moments of balance and deliberation invariably conceive themselves to possess it, just as if they were savages or idealists."

Assuming then that free will exists, and is exercised every moment of our lives, it is clear that it too must have been from the beginning. Otherwise, had the initial energy of the universe been purely physical, like that of gravitation, heat, or electricity, there would have been no possibility for ever, since a purely mechanical system,—that is one over which mind has no control,—has, of necessity, a perfectly determined future, which could from a sufficient inspection of its primitive condition be foretold with mathematical precision, and can no more break away from the lines laid down for it, than the earth can at discretion wander into space from its orbit round the sun.

And thus while it is most true that science can never directly affect the foundations of religion, either one way or other, yet by ever revealing fresh marvels, as Professor Ray Lankester has told us, to our "wondering intelligence," she undoubtedly accumulates evidence

(1) *Foundations of Belief*, p. 23 (Eighth Edition).

which should help us more and more vividly to realize the working in nature of an intelligence as immeasurably transcending that of man, as her works surpass his,—thus justifying Lord Kelvin's much controverted dictum that science positively enforces belief in God.

And so we come back to the conclusion long ago set forth by the author of the Book of Wisdom:(1)

"But all men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God, and who by these good things that are seen could not understand him that is, neither by attending to the works have acknowledged Him who was the Workman. . . . With whose beauty if they were delighted, let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they, for the first author of beauty made all these things. Or, if they admired their power and their effects, let them understand by these that He who made them is mightier than they; for by the greatness of the beauty of the creatures the Creator of them may be seen so as to be known thereby.

J. G.

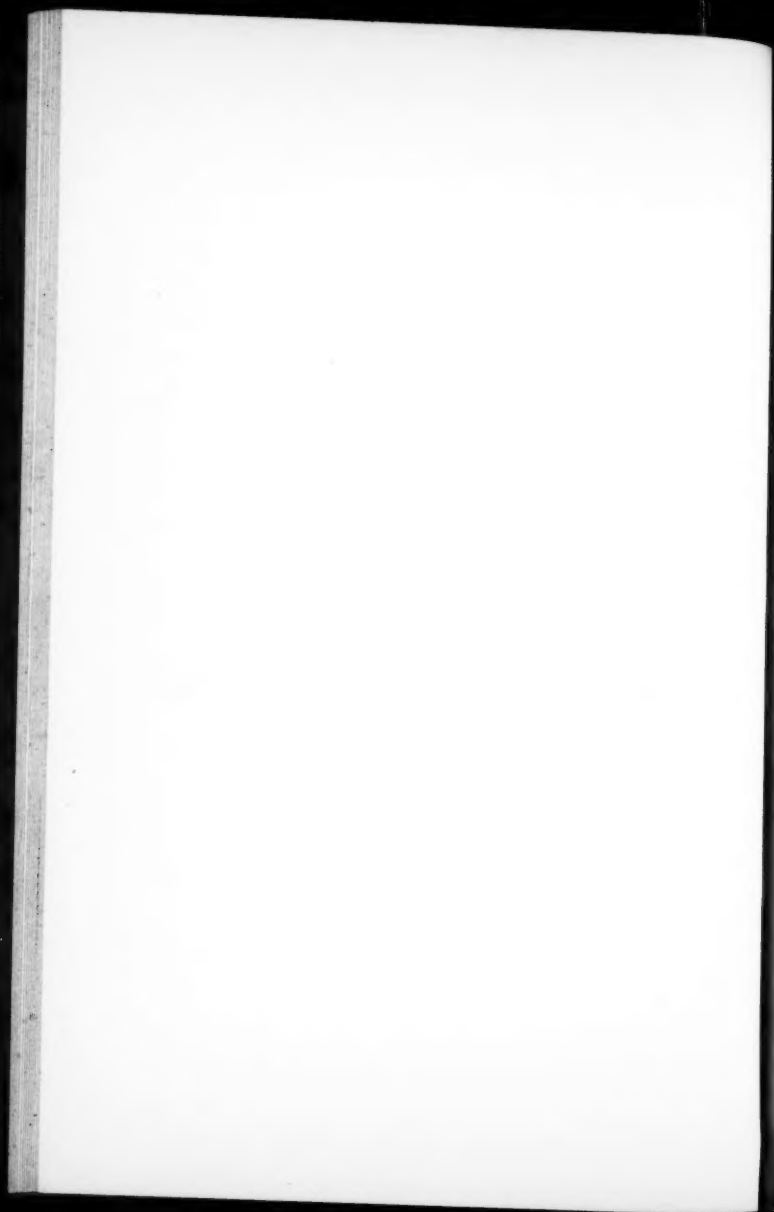
(1) xiii, 1-5.

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The Morality of English Socialism



The Morality of English Socialism



THE conversion of the working-classes of Great Britain to the Socialist creed has been a long cherished hope among its believers on the Continent. They rightly conclude that if the leading industrial nation were to range itself under the Socialist banner an enormous impetus would be given to the movement throughout the world. In comparison with some countries Socialist ideas have not made great progress in England. But latterly there has been quite an outburst of activity. Propaganda work on the platform and in the press, demonstrations and organizing have been going on apace, and with some show of success. A large increase of strength in some of the Socialist bodies has to be admitted. And at the present time an earnest appeal is being made to British labor to identify itself with the cause of Socialism.

It seems, then, an opportune moment to make an examination of the principles and proposals of the Socialist programme in order to see how far they agree or disagree with Christian morality, and what attitude Catholic workingmen should adopt towards this new gospel.

Much confusion and not a little mischief are caused by the frequent employment of the word Socialism to express widely different ideas. In this essay it is used in

what seems its only legitimate sense, *i. e.*, as the equivalent of Collectivism. Whatever it may have been formerly used to denote, nowadays, common usage has stamped it as signifying a peculiar and comprehensive remedy for social evils, which proposes to transform not only the industrial system, but even the entire moral order on which Christian society has hitherto rested.

In his *Quintessence of Socialism*, Schäffle says: "The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into a united and collective capital." John Stuart Mill writes: "What is characteristic of Socialism is the joint ownership by all the members of the community of all the instruments of production, which carries with it the consequence that the division of all the produce must be a public act performed according to rules laid down by the community." Bradlaugh gives this definition of Socialism: "It denies individual private property and affirms that society organized as the State should own all wealth, direct all labor and compel an equal distribution of all the produce."

In these definitions we have the essential doctrines of the gospel, preached by the powerful Socialist organizations existing in practically all European countries, comprising many millions of workers, and of which Marx and Lassalle were the principal authors. The word Socialism has been appropriated by them to express their special theories and custom has sanctioned the use of the term in that sense. This was the one and only meaning of the word recognized by Pope Leo XIII, when in his encyclical on the *Condition of Labor*, he examined and condemned the teachings of Socialism. This, then, ought to be regarded as its true sense; to use it in any other is a misleading abuse of language.

No one can be strictly considered a Socialist who does not hold the central doctrines of collective ownership and control. There are measures advocated by Socialists and by them pronounced Socialistic, which are not so, unless they are regarded as steps towards the Socialist ideal or as forming part of a national scheme of reorganization. We are not Socialists because we are in favor of necessary legislative restrictions of individual liberty in order that we may thereby protect the general and permanent physical and moral interests of the community. Again, State regulation of industry, taxation of incomes, municipal or national ownership and administration of businesses, such as railways, the post office, gas, tramways, etc., are not really Socialistic, nor evidences of society drifting, as is so often said, towards Socialism. No doubt they may be fitted into a Socialist scheme. But as the facts show, they are quite compatible with the existing social order and, as long as the right of private capital stands unchallenged and intact, they cannot be called Socialist.

Having thus cleared the ground, we may proceed to describe the principal doctrines taught by the three bodies of English Socialists, viz.: the Social Democrats, the Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society. These three organizations are substantially in agreement as to principles and ideals; their differences chiefly regard the methods by which that ideal can best be realized.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

The Social Democratic Federation was founded in London, in 1881. It boasts about a hundred branches in the chief industrial centres of England and Scotland.

There are no means of ascertaining the total membership, but it is very probably not large. It poses as the only genuine representative of Socialism, the other two associations having departed from the pure gospel of Karl Marx. Its organ is *Justice*. Quelch, Hyndman, Bax, and Karl Pearson are its principal leaders.

The central doctrine of the Social Democrats, as laid down plainly in their catechism, is, that the only remedy for the misery and oppression which are the lot of a vast and increasing number of the working-class is to be found in a radical transformation of the industrial system. Collective ownership and collective production must supersede capitalist private ownership of the means of production in order to put an end to social wrongs and introduce an era of social peace and well-being. In their opinion, the struggle against exploitation and on behalf of social equality is exclusively a working-class movement. Any co-operation or alliance with those who are interested in maintaining the principle of private ownership is a blunder and a crime, which will assuredly delay their emancipation. They must be organized, then, as an independent army, whose aim is to make themselves the dominant factor in the State. Having constituted themselves the ruling class and got all political power into their hands they will abolish all distinctions of class, seize all private capital, and transfer it to the State, which will administer it in the equal interest of the whole community.

We can better understand the irreligious basis of the Social Democratic Utopia by a brief survey of the views of Karl Marx, who is still the inspired prophet of this section.

Marx was one of the school of heathen Humanists so

vigorously and so justly denounced by Bishop Ketteler in his contest with the rising forces of German Socialism and Materialism. The Humanism of that period was nothing else than a particularly gross form of Materialism. The sum of its teachings was: There is nothing above man, neither God, priest or king; there is nothing in man save the concrete being of flesh and blood; the only sources of information are the senses and they give no clew to the existence of God, "the idea of whom has been the keystone of a perverted civilization." Not only is there nothing above man, but no human being should be less than man, *i. e.*, none ought to suffer degradation or to be condemned to a life of misery. For all had equal rights to share in the benefits of society. And happiness here and now was the sole end of man's existence and the natural, indefeasible birthright of every individual.

Obviously the tendency of these doctrines was strongly Socialistic. Only in a Collectivist State was there any possibility of these supposed legitimate aspirations being satisfied. Consequently, a reorganization of society, on collectivist lines, was a necessity imperatively demanded by the principles of social justice. Marx's theory of value was intended to supply the scientific basis for the Socialist claim to equality of condition. The present economic order rested on the assumed natural rights of private capital. The conclusion of his analysis of capital and value was that private property in the means of production was unjust, that capitalism was founded in spoliation, and continues as a gigantic system of robbery and oppression. He proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that ordinary manual labor measured by time was the sole producer of all wealth; "that all wealth is due to labor and to the laborer all wealth is due," and that the

wealth of all classes not earned by manual labor was robbery. The complete dependence of the workers on the capitalist for the opportunity to earn their daily bread forced them to submit to his terms and to accept whatever remuneration he was pleased to grant. And a bare subsistence wage, far less than their due, was all that they received of the wealth which, on account of their labor, wholly belonged to them. While the remainder, the surplus value or the product of their unpaid labor, was continuously and unjustly appropriated by the capitalist.

Evidently, according to this argument, there was no sacredness attaching to the laws by which private property was protected. They were merely cunning devices invented by the capitalist with an eye to his own interest, and their only sanction was the political power which the privileged classes had gathered into their hands. By force and fraud had they obtained their wealth, and by right of superior force would the proletariat in due time justly dispossess them. Forcible seizure of goods so unlawfully acquired was not robbery, but a righteous restoration to the lawful owners—the people at large.

But this act of expropriation, which was the first step towards the nation's emancipation, was only possible when through organization the laboring class had become the supreme political force in the State. Having reached that point, they would lay hands on all productive wealth, collectivise it, and compulsorily organize for production and distribution the entire nation, which would then consist of one class only—a universal association of workers.

And with this transfer of material wealth, it is to be observed, every individual is brought under the absolute control of the State and becomes the servant, indeed, the slave, of an industrial republic. Any independent activ-

ity based on personal rights is straightway at an end. Body and soul he is the property of society, which disposes of him at will. He must conform in all respects to the regulations of a materialistic commonwealth, which regards him merely as an instrument, whose only business is to contribute his due share to the temporal well-being.

Such a pagan conception of the functions of the State and of individual rights was the logical outcome of Marx's materialist philosophy. He was not content with showing that material conditions have a considerable influence on moral and intellectual development. He insisted that they were the sole cause of it all. He refused to assign to the intellectual and spiritual factors any appreciable influence in shaping or guiding the progress of mankind. So he is credited with having discovered working in society a principle of evolution, analogous to that perceived by Darwin in the organic world. That principle he identified with the economic forces, which successively evolved the various forms of civilization, and which were moving irresistibly in the direction of the collectivist ideal.

On his showing, therefore, religious institutions, morality, the constitution of the family, and all social relations were nothing more than the effect of the prevailing conditions of production, distribution and exchange. These conditions have invariably produced hostile classes and in their conflict all the changes, the ideas and institutions of society have originated. The ruling ideas at any particular epoch are merely the ideas of the ruling class, which has imposed them on the rest of the community. Moreover, as the economic system in the course of its evolution, necessarily assumes new forms and new func-

tions, the moral and religious ideas, which spring therefrom, must change also. There is nothing then divine or absolute in religion or morals. Like capital, they are only historical categories. They are provisional rules, adapted to a particular stage of the development of the social organism. It was necessary that they should be evolved out of the actual industrial conditions, and it is equally inevitable that they should lose their authority and disappear when those conditions change. And the promise is made to us that "religion will finally vanish when the practical relations of life become intelligible and reasonable" under the Socialist *régime*.

This materialist conception of history with its open rejection of everything supernatural, forms an essential part of the economic theory of the Social Democrats, and in a slightly less degree of the two other Socialist organizations in England. The avowed aim of the Social Democrats is to set up a labor State, which will have absolute power to regulate all our activities, physical and moral, and to determine all our social relations without regard to personal choice, the claims of conscience or the authoritative commands of the Church. It is quite impossible to fit Christian principles into their proposed scheme. They are indeed an obstacle to the realization of their project. Their catechism, their newspaper, their pamphlets and speeches make no concealment of their materialistic bias. Bax, who is a reliable exponent of their views, says: "Socialism is a religion, but not in the Christian sense. Indeed, it utterly despises the other world with all its stage properties, *i. e.*, the present objects of religion. Socialism affirms the unity of human life, abolishing the antithesis of matter and spirit of this world and the other." On the fundamental ques-

tion of justice, which arises in the expropriation of the capitalist, Bax accurately expresses the opinions of the three English Socialist parties:

"The social idea of justice is crystallized in the notion of the absolute right of the community to the possession and control of all wealth not intended for direct individual use. Hence the confiscation of such property is the first expression of Socialist justice. Justice being henceforth identified with confiscation, and injustice with the rights of private property, there remains only the question of ways and means."

Again, Karl Pearson, speaking of all forms of English Socialism, writes:

"The Socialist's theory of morality is based on agnosticism, and his aim is to make this life as pleasant as possible. Socialism starts from the thought that the sole aim of mankind is happiness in this life. The State is the centre of the Socialist Faith. His polity is his Morality and his morality is his Religion.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

The Independent Labor Party, though not assuming the name of Socialism, is yet distinctively Socialist in its tenets. Very probably, its leaders feel that their views are likely to find a readier hearing and acceptance, if they are not too plainly described as Socialistic. In any case, as Sidney Webb informs us, this society had its rise among the Social Democrats and Socialist League Clubs of the North of England.

It has adopted, however, a more reasonable and practical policy than the Social Democrats; it shows less revolutionary frenzy and fanaticism, and it does not openly betray such a violent antagonism to religion. But

there is no difference between them as to the ultimate condition of things to which they hope to direct society. So the amended constitution of the Independent Labor Party, in 1894, declared its object to be "the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange."

The leading spirits in the originating of the movement were Keir-Hardie and Cunningham, and, more recently, Snowden, Tillett, Glasier, etc., have been important factors in its successful development. It is composed of men who were dissatisfied with the lack of political enterprise among the trade unions, and despaired of any radical measure of reform from middle-class Liberalism. At the same time they saw that the democratic institutions of this country, if skillfully used, gave the forces of labor abundant opportunities for shaping the character and the course of the legislation. The Independent Labor Party was, therefore, formed for the purpose of voicing the claims of the working-classes, and, at the same time, using them as a lever for the advancement of their special views on Socialism. Unlike the Social Democrats, they do not insist upon the Marx theory of value as their root-principle, nor do they think it wise to follow the example of rigorous German Socialism in preaching a class war and in refusing all alliances for immediate remedial measures with men or parties who differ from them on the subject of private property. They perceive that the perfect realization of the Socialist hope is afar off; that it can only be reached by slow and gradual modifications of the existing social order, and, therefore, without abandoning their distinctive opinions as to the right and final solution, they use parties and the State in order to introduce minor measures which will restrict what they call

class-robbery, and by raising the standard of life will make the workers more effective promoters of their ideal.

In their clubs and pamphlets, in their organ, the *Labor Leader*, and in their platform addresses they assiduously disseminate the seed of Socialism. They busy themselves also in organizing demonstrations and agitations, partly to intimidate the governing class and partly to provide an object lesson of the truth of their contention that the capitalist system of industry is obsolete and utterly incapable of directing and developing the enormous productive forces of to-day in a manner beneficial to the public.

The success of this movement has been remarkable. Starting, as an organized body, in 1894, it has now 250 branches in England and Scotland, with a membership of over 25,000. Socialists have, in the past, made frequent attempts to capture the trade unions, but, beyond barren resolutions in favor of the nationalization of land and capital, little success has been achieved. The Independent Labor Party's latest development has been to induce a number of trade unions, representing 1,000,000 workers, to combine with itself and the Fabian Society in the Labor Representation Committee, for promoting labor representation in Parliament. The chief credit for the creation of this new organization is due to the Independent Labor Party, which, with the Fabians, exercises a dominant influence in its councils. It is highly probable that in the next Parliament a strong labor party, Socialist in principle or in tendency, will be the authorized mouthpiece of the workers of Great Britain.(1)

The leaders of the Party do not concern themselves overmuch with abstract theories of conduct and society.

(1) This was written in December, 1905.

But, at times, they are forced back upon the first principles on which they ground their system. Then, their agreement with the Marxist appears. It is evident that, in their opinion, the only working theory for practical men is Monism. There may be a God and a future life, or there may not. This, however, is certain, that all men have an equal right to this world's advantages; pleasure is man's only end, and, therefore, it is imperative that the conditions of society should be such as to insure a certain minimum of comfort for everyone. Now, they argue, the capitalist mode of production of its very nature, as its workings demonstrate, entirely excludes a vast multitude from any portion of real happiness and condemns them to lives of hideous destitution, hopeless misery and degradation. The selfish principles of competition and private property have been tried and found wanting. They stand condemned as out of date and ruinous in their effects. The logic of events demands the substitution of the alternative, altruistic principle of Socialism, which relies on brotherly co-operation, not on a pitiless, internecine competition, which institutes common ownership, for the general good, in place of private ownership and enjoyment, and which will guarantee to each person an equal share, according to requirements, of the produce of labor, to which all, according to their capacity, contribute by their toil.

The teachings of Christianity have no part in the construction of their ideal republic. The idea of a supreme Legislator, of a revealed moral code, of God-given, inalienable rights and of divine ordinances prevailing in society are all undreamt of in their philosophy, and are indeed wholly incompatible with it. They hold that the people is as competent to transform the moral order on

which society rests as it is to change the administration, or to decide under what form of government it will live. The State has plenary power to legislate for itself and to ordain the rules for private and public conduct. The moral law they recognize is not from above; it is of the earth, earthy. "Things," so they say, "make their own morality." "What is good in economics is good also in morals." These are their axioms. Assuming, then, the perfection and the justice of their proposed economic system, they must discover or invent a moral code adapted to it. Obviously, as they admit, the old Christian principles cannot be accommodated to such an un-Christian ideal as Socialism aims at. And, in fact, it is to utilitarian and evolutionary ethics that they consistently appeal as the moral basis of their scheme.

That the above description does not misrepresent them will be clear from a few quotations taken from pamphlets issued by the Independent Labor party press. "If you want information about the Independent Labor Party," advises one of the leaflets, "read the *Clarion* and the *Labor Leader*. These will tell you what Socialism means and will keep you in touch with the great international Socialist movement." Now, the grossly materialistic character of the philosophy of the *Clarion* and the violent and vulgar attacks upon Christianity it combines with its Socialist preaching are notorious. Snowden, the chairman of the party, makes the significant statement that the "Independent Labor Party is the counterpart of continental Socialism"—an admission of its irreligious tenets and tendency. According to the same authority, "the churches are the forces of superstition at war with reason;" "Christ is not a Divine Teacher for the Socialist, nor is His law to be the rule of

conduct in the new religion, which is to be a political religion." Modern science, another pamphlet tells us, bears witness to the truth of Socialism. "It is the only arrangement consistent with Nature's laws," for has not evolution demonstrated that the survival of the fittest is the supreme aim, and does not the struggle for existence sanction those rules of action as highly moral, which secure to the individual or society the largest measure of material satisfaction? As this writer implies, Socialism will reproduce the conditions, the ideals, and rules which an infidel science pretends to show prevail in the animal world, and which clearly have no tincture of true morality about them. We are not surprised to learn from still another pamphlet that "Socialism will involve a revolution in religion and morals," and that it is as yet undecided whether Kant and his categorical imperative or the system of Comte is to furnish authoritative moral guidance in the Socialist commonwealth.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists. This is the first statement of their official programme. And they are profoundly "convinced of the necessity of vesting the organization of industry and the material of production in a State identified with the whole people by complete democracy." This society is most active and influential in London. Its members are recruited principally from the educated middle-class. Branches are maintained, though not with any marked success, at most of the universities. In point of numbers the Society is not imposing, for the official returns of 1904 gave 739 as the total on the rolls. But they attach no importance to mere numerical growth. What they do insist on is, that their

members shall be earnest and capable promoters of the cause. In spite of the smallness of their numbers, it is true, as Sidney Webb asserts, that "the Society exerts a considerable influence by the participation of its members in nearly all reform movements, by their work at the universities and in the fields of journalism."

In their policy and principles they approximate closely to the Independent Labor Party. But, whereas the latter hope to achieve their end by direct parliamentary action, the former adopt an educational rôle, mainly, *i. e.*, a steady policy of permeating public opinion with Socialist ideas.

Bernard Shaw is their chief literary figure, but their most eminent authority on social questions is Sidney Webb, undoubtedly a man of mark in London's municipal affairs. Instead of maintaining an organ of their own they take advantage of every opening in the public press, and as at least fifty of them are expert journalists, the effect of their activity in this direction must be considerable. The volume called the *Fabian Essays* contains an authentic exposition of their views, and has had an extensive sale. Lectures and pamphlets are freely used, and the extent of their influence in London can be measured by this, that, in 1892, the Progressive Party of the London County Council went to the polls and won an overwhelming victory, on a programme of a pronounced Socialist character, written by Sidney Webb, and, at the same time, every Fabian who ran as a Progressive was elected. It may be truly said that the spread of collectivist ideas in England during the last twenty years is principally due to the Fabians.

When the party was first formed, in 1883, its members were all in favor of revolutionary methods, and looked

for the speedy downfall of the old *régime*. Time and experience have moderated their hopes and taught them to labor and to wait patiently for the attainment of their ideal. It has been borne in upon them that violent organic changes are impracticable, and that society is too large and complex a machine to be suddenly remodeled on a Socialist plan. They profess, moreover, to have learned from Comte, Darwin, and Spencer the vital truth that society is an organism, and that if growth is inevitable, yet it must of necessity be slow and gradual. So now they look forward to the gradual evolution of the new from the old, by peaceful, constitutional modifications of the existing order, which will keep pace with the growing enlightenment of the people.

Judged by the nature of the measures they advocate and the reformers with whom they frequently act, they seem hardly distinguishable from advanced Radicals. There is, however, this important difference, that, while Radicals uphold private enterprise, the Fabians labor to extinguish it. And their ultimate aim, and, still more, the theories on which they ground their case, put them in a class apart.

They believe with the Social Democrats that only a thoroughgoing transformation of society can cure its many grievous evils and establish social justice. But they are eager to dissociate themselves from the Marxian theory of value, as constituting the chief argument in favor of the proposed change. They base their indictment of the capitalist system and their demand for its extinction on the appalling misery and injustice apparently inseparable from it, which render a decent human life impossible for the toiling millions.

The first business of the State, they repeat, is to secure

a comfortable livelihood for all its members. A society which fails in this, the prime reason of its existence, is fit for nothing but to be destroyed. Now society, as at present organized, with each individual free to follow his own private interest, regardless of others—free, also, to accumulate private property by the exploitation of his fellows, has proved a gigantic and frightful failure. It has benefited the few at the expense of the multitude, and presents us with the revolting spectacle of riches and luxury accumulating at one pole and poverty, misery and squalor at the other.

What is the remedy? Abolish complete individual liberty and private ownership in the means of production; "substitute regulated co-ordination among the units for blind anarchic competition;" "let society be reorganized by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the common benefit." In their remedy for the evils of the time the Fabians are of one mind with the Social Democrats and the Independent Labor Party.

But how is this huge transfer of property to be accomplished without a grave breach of the law of justice? Forcibly to deprive owners of their goods, without adequate compensation, is, to the ordinary mind, a flagrant violation of the command, "Thou shalt not steal." The Fabians, no more than the other Socialist bodies, are not disturbed by the fact that the Almighty has fixed His canon against spoliation. Divine prohibitions have no value for them, and their ideas of justice are substantially the same as those already quoted from Bax. Yet, out of deference to popular prejudice, they promise to give, not compensation, but some measure of relief to those

dispossessed. They do not recognize any obligation of justice, because they deny that the capitalist has any true right to his wealth.

As the Fabian essayist says, "private property was unjust from the beginning." This dictum is based upon the assumption, which with them is fundamental, that each individual has an equal right to all the advantages of society. Private property, which involves inequality, is a violation of that original right. Further, private property is an appropriation by the individual of wealth or the instruments of production which are strictly the property of all, and such wealth can only be acquired by the individual wrongly pursuing his own interest instead of the general good of the community. This brings us to their root idea, viz., that society is in the most rigid biological sense an organism, wherein every member best promotes his own happiness and ought so to promote it by making the welfare of the whole his principal aim. It is from this deceptive analogy that they deduce utterly false views of man's relations to the State, which, if acted upon, would destroy every vestige of personal liberty and freedom of conscience, and would deliver us up to the governing majority to be used simply as wealth producing instruments for the good of all.

It cannot then be doubted that Socialism proposes something more than an economic reconstruction; it necessarily involves a complete revolution in our religious and moral ideas. The express declarations to be found in the *Fabian Essays* put this beyond doubt. We are informed that "the social system based on religion and a common belief in a divine order has broken down." A materialist philosophy, which regards sensible phenomena as the ultimate reality, will mould the principles which

are to dominate the collectivist commonwealth. And "this morality will be the highest yet known!" "It will be in accord with the commonly accepted canons of utilitarian ethics." The oft-quoted principle of evolution is invoked to furnish a natural explanation of Christian morality and to provide the new standard and the new laws of a superior ethics. Religious or personal morality has no place in their scheme. In fact, conduct of a moral character is impossible, we are told, until man enters into relations with his fellows. Right and wrong are identical with social and anti-social. Morality or immorality can be predicated only of those actions which experience has proved to be conducive or injurious to the common good. The Fabian "knows nothing of the natural right of liberty or equality." The supreme and only source of right and power is the State. Men's lives will be governed without regard to God's authority, and "all their relations to other individuals and to society will be determined by an all powerful State," with utility its ruling principle and aim.

This doctrine of State absolutism is clearly contained in the propositions, "The State is an organism, paramount and prior to the individual of every generation." "Though the social organism is evolved from the union of individual men, the individual is now created by the social organism, of which he forms a part; his activities belong to the activity of the whole. Its persistence, then, is accordingly, his paramount end." Again, "We must rid ourselves of the vain conceit that we are independent units" with personal ends and obligations apart from the State. In the democratic republic we are merely creatures or instruments for the production of wealth just as the ruling power determines. Not only must we

throw all our powers and the fruits of our labor into the common stock, for the general benefit, but our ideals the most sacred, our liberty of action, our rights of conscience, the duties of religion must all be surrendered or subordinated to the commands of a State that knows not God.

In their programme, the Fabians say they have no distinctive opinions on the marriage question or religion. The foregoing quotations from the *Fabian Essays* reveal very distinct opinions on morality, and in the *Essays* the views expressed on marriage are precise and un-Christian enough, in all conscience, though no doubt these opinions are not confined to Socialists. For instance, we read that the Christian idea of marriage is only the outcome of the institution of private property, and that free love or temporary unions will replace the sacred indissoluble bond of Christian marriage. The father will be relieved at once of his rights and responsibilities, in regard to his children. These are born into full citizenship and become the property of society, which rears and educates them, and, later on, fixes their life's duty in the commonwealth. And the wife, released from her economic dependence upon man, will be free to live her own life unhampered by any obligation to husband or children.

The teachings of Socialism on such topics are repugnant to the Christian conscience. They would desecrate and defile the home and family life and pollute the very springs of individual or national righteousness. Under their sway, as Schäffle rightly says, "a man would become a mere refined animal, society a refined herd or a superior race of dogs and apes."

It has been necessary to enter into the details of the Fabian doctrines for several reasons. The society stands

for moderate and reasonable Socialism. It has been spoken of by Professor Ely as an ethical Socialism, and individual Catholics have at times been led to believe that it contained the sound principles of social reform. Then, though the least numerous of Socialist bodies, it is by far the most influential in this country. In friendly circles its writings are supposed to have proved the feasibility and righteousness of the collectivist system. Without exaggeration the Fabian Society may be called the brains of the Independent Labor Party. That party embodies its principles and ideas, employs its critical and constructive arguments, and is applying its methods in politics with palpable and ever-increasing success. In combating and exposing the irreligious spirit of the Fabian gospel, we are also striking at the Independent Labor Party, which, owing to its alliance with the Fabians and the trade unions on the Labor Representative Committee, seems destined to exercise a marked influence on the economic and religious notions of the working-classes of England and Scotland.

Socialism has two specially objectionable features which reveal its un-Christian character. They are its doctrines of utility or expediency and the absolute supremacy of the State.

The Socialist knows no higher law or aim than expediency. He takes it for granted that society's actions will be guided always by that one consideration. It is the criterion which proves the value of all things. Consequently, laws, institutions, the rights of individuals and minorities, the Church itself may at any time be legitimately abolished or radically changed, whenever the majority judge that they serve no useful purpose or think that their removal will not result in injury to the State.

Once, then, the sovereignty of expediency is admitted and we sever the spiritual tie, which unites us to a higher law and its divine Author, our freedom of action and that most fundamental liberty—the liberty to obey the commands of conscience—are placed in jeopardy, and may at any moment be extinguished by a hostile majority in the so-called interest of the public. Yet, to this very pass we must come in the Socialist republic. The very idea of an inviolable power, residing in the person, prior to and independent of the State, is a contradiction of its root-principle. The whole doctrine of natural rights is, to their minds, nothing but a survival of the superstition of Christianity. It supposes—an incredible thing—that there is a law higher than expediency, a nobler aim than a pleasant life, and a fount of privilege and power other than the State.

But the cardinal error of collectivism and the parent of many other mischievous notions is its false conception of the relation of individuals to society. "Socialism of its very nature absorbs the individual into the State in such a way as to sacrifice his rights to its authority." This is an essential feature of all forms of real Socialism, and it puts an end to morality because it destroys all personal freedom and responsibility. In its early days the Christian religion vindicated the inherent rights of conscience against the unholy tyranny of pagan Rome, which claimed authority to dictate the belief and control the religious practices of its subjects. Socialism would sacrifice the rights that the Church has won and must continue to defend, and proposes to erect a State, with unlimited power in the civil and ecclesiastical spheres.

In our description of Fabianism we have seen that fact strongly insisted upon. In their view the State does not

exist to furnish opportunities for personal development or to defend our rights. No, the individual exists for the sake of society, and his principal function is the promotion of the temporal well-being in any way the governing section may determine. To this conception of man's nature they attempt to give a scientific authority. They borrow from biology the idea of an organism, and, then, passing over essential differences, apply it in an unqualified sense to the State. Then, we are not surprised to read that "the relations of individuals to the social organism are on a par with the relations of cells to an animal organism or of the members of an animal body to the whole." This monstrous doctrine, to which Socialism would give effect, implies that man is not a person, a free moral agent, with God-given rights and duties independent of the State. Rights cease to have any meaning. As Gronlund says, "there are none save what the State gives," and he adds, truly enough, that "this conception of the State, as an organism, consigns the rights of man to obscurity," as it certainly reduces him to a condition of physical and moral slavery. For the ruling majority is absolute, and "it may decree whatever it thinks expedient."

Could it be established, Socialism would prove a more frightful despotism than any of the pagan governments of old. Not a remnant of freedom would be left. The nature of our work, its place, its time and reward, would be fixed for us. The State would dispose, at pleasure, of our persons, our faculties and our property. It would lay its impious hands on the family and destroy its unity and stability. The masses of mankind would be placed completely at the mercy of a small and highly centralized body of organizers and administrators, whose judgments

would have the force of infallible pronouncements and who would be armed with irresistible power to enforce their ideals and compel the observation of their laws.

We are told by Socialist writers that religion will be a private affair and no concern of the State. But they always take it for granted that once Socialism is enthroned in power religious belief will soon evaporate. And it is evidently impossible that the Church and a State which both claimed to be supreme and conflicting directors of the mind and conscience on the most momentous matters should long co-exist. An omnipotent collectivism would not long brook a spiritual authority which spoke in God's name, which always and necessarily disputed its jurisdiction and the truth and justice of its fundamental principles, and which was therefore a constant menace to its stability. In order to save itself the State would have to try to suppress and destroy the Church.

"Every social fabric must be grounded on a system of fundamental opinions" capable of exposition and rational defense. We have seen that collectivism has an intellectual basis, but one which assumes throughout the falsity of the Christian standpoint and is fatal to true morality.

We can conclude, then, with certainty, that the collectivist remedy for social evils cannot be sound or socially useful, since its implications and consequences are so directly opposed to religious truths. No society can rest and prosper on a lie. As the Duke of Argyll pertinently says: "In mathematical reasoning the 'reduction to absurdity' is one of the most familiar methods of disproof. In political reasoning the 'reduction to iniquity' ought to be of equal value."

In the face of the proposed revival of a pagan society it becomes more and more necessary to emphasize the doctrine of man's spiritual dignity and moral freedom, and the unassailable basis whereon they rest. The existence of a personal God, whose essence is absolutely moral, is the fundamental truth, which can alone safeguard our rights from unjust attack. The obligation to obey the laws, which he has imposed upon our conscience, carries with it the power and the right to obey. Our rights, then, are not given and cannot be taken away by the State. They have their origin and authority in the supreme Author of our being. Their validity is bound up with the sovereign rights of God, and are therefore absolute and inalienable. It is in this Divine right that we find the broad and strong foundation of our freedom and of all the rights of man.

English Socialism commits its disciples to principles which cannot be reconciled with the Christian faith. Inseparably bound up with it is a false materialistic philosophy. In the name of science—a word more abused than liberty—its adherents boldly claim the right to revise and revalue all the old standards of morality. Experience shows that it thrives and propagates best in the corrupt soil of materialism. Its natural allies are the Secularists. Its irreconcilable foe, and the most formidable obstacle to its progress, is the Catholic Church. It is, in fact, not merely a party of social reform, but a wing of the infidel army, operating among the working-classes, doing its utmost to sow mistrust and hatred of religion, and to excite the hope and belief that the amelioration of the condition of labor depends on the success of materialism. Herein lies its chief danger. Its future success in Great Britain as an organization of

men pledged to believe in and to work for the triumph of the distinctive Socialist creed may not be important. But there is good reason to fear that it may do much mischief in spreading an irreligious spirit and weakening the foundations of belief among men whom it may not succeed in converting to its economic heresies.

J. J. WELCH.

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I
Object of Federation

II
Divorce



Object of Federation



Divorce



Two Discourses, Delivered at the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, 1906



Object of Federation



THROUGH the cordial invitation of the Rt. Rev. Bishop, the kindness of the reverend clergy and the laity of this beautiful and progressive city of Buffalo, we are gathered together in this stately and venerable cathedral to offer the holy sacrifice of the mass, that God may bless, guide and prosper the deliberations and undertakings of this National Convention of Catholic Federation.

I shall endeavor, this morning, to describe what our American Federation of Catholic Societies means, and the kind of men we need to insure its success.

This Federation may be considered as an organized representative of every form of Catholic activity, and, within certain limits, the guardian of Catholic rights and interests, which are threatened and violated by materialism and secularism, and the false and pernicious theories and practices which spring from them.

The aims of the Federation are religious and patriotic; they are the public interest of all American citizens who believe in a divine Lawgiver and in the revelation of a divine religion through Christ our Saviour.

The principal objects of our organization and labors may be defined to be:

1. The Christian education of youth.
2. The sanctity and perpetuity of Christian marriage as the basis of the family, and the preservative of the morality and happiness of the home.
3. To correct error and expose falsehood and injustice, whether in misrepresentation of history, doctrine, or principles of morality.
4. To oppose and root out the great social and political evils which confront and menace us—socialism, anarchy, perversion of marriage, divorce, dishonesty in business, corruption in politics and offices of public trust, the lawlessness of wealth and the law-defeating power of money, the evasion of justice and widespread disregard for law.

If this Federation is true to the Catholic principles upon which it rests, it must stand for whatsoever is just and true; it must stand a united whole against whatsoever is false, unjust, and opposed to the laws of God.

To carry out the purpose of this association, every force of religious activity, pastors and people, bishops, priests and laymen, speakers and writers, must be solidly united to speak with one voice and act with one will for God and our country. We must make the Federation an Apostolate of Catholic truth, to aid the Church in teaching her children to think as Catholics, to speak as Catholics, to live as Catholics.

Our strength does not consist in numbers, or in fiery

speeches, or ringing resolutions, or vehement protests, so much as in the Christian character of the men behind the declarations, and the religion and patriotism which inspire our acts. Our aims must ever be for truth and justice, for righteousness and peace, for the promotion of the common good. The people's cause is our cause. The nation's welfare is our chiefest earthly interest. We are not a political party or a sect; we stand for the Christian life of the nation itself, and we are ready with our whole energy, to co-operate with all loyal citizens, with our government, and with all political and social energies which work for truth and virtue. The more consistent the Catholic, the more loyal the patriot. It is not patriotism, but cowardice, to minimize Catholic teachings in regard to our civic rights and duties, or to surrender any essential principle of Christian doctrine concerning the relations of the Church to the State, the family, the school. We ask no favors or special privileges. We intend no wrong to others. We will openly and lawfully claim what is just and fair. We will cease to protest and demand, when justice triumphs—and not till then.

What we desire most is that our doctrines and our claims be made known. We wish our laymen to be apostles. We wish them to conquer by the good example and strong argument of the Christian virtues which adorn their lives and rule their words and actions. Poor men, even obscure men, filled with the spirit of Christianity, and ruled by its influence and laws, men formed upon the catechism and preaching of the Word, will, by their very presence, command a veneration and respect which is elicited neither by power nor position, and which demagogues and crafty politicians cannot attain.

This is Federation. It means the union of Catholics of every race and language in the United States for the preservation of Christian principles, and the progress and elevation of men to higher spiritual life and more unselfish citizenship; it means that we stand together for the defense of right and the redress of great wrongs in the family, in the school, in the social, economic, civil, or political conditions of the country. It represents and fearlessly proclaims Catholic public opinion on the most important questions of the day. It needs a center and an organ that it may be the propagator of Catholic literature among all classes.

Truth and justice give us courage and strength.

1. We stand for the sanctity of the Christian home and family, resting on the sacred and stable foundation of Christian marriage.

2. We maintain that man was created to know and serve God. Hence religion ought to be fostered and inculcated in every department of education from the lowest to the highest.

3. We wish Christian principles to rule everywhere; in the State, in business, in labor unions, in all the civic, social, financial and industrial relations of men.

We must combat the materialism and secularism which are the sources of nearly all the great evils which threaten the country to-day. The starting point of lawlessness, of socialism, of anarchy, of divorce, of sensuality, of greed for money, is materialism or secularism. When men cease to believe in religion, in God who will judge them, in the eternal rewards and punishments of heaven or hell—man is a mere animal, without a soul, without a supernatural life and destiny, with only animal instincts and desires to be obeyed and gratified. He finds

his ambition and highest pleasure in gaining and possessing the means to surpass his fellow man in wealth, earthly power, honor or pleasure. Men's ideals are to-day materialistic rather than spiritual. Man does not love his neighbor. Money is worshipped. Conscience and the revealed law of God are ignored. No religion in the school; no religion in politics; no religion in business; no religion in work. When man's spiritual nature is neglected and stunted, man is debased.

The disregard of the Lord's Day is one of the signs of the materialistic spirit and Godlessness of our times. It is a subject worthy of serious consideration. Thousands of Catholic men employed in iron and steel mills, in mines and factories, on railroads, street cars, docks and wharves, in different departments under city governments, on many large contracts, have no opportunity, I will not say to rest, but even to worship God for one hour by attending Mass on Sundays. If they have a day, or a half day of rest during the week, it usually is on Saturday. Work and pleasure and material progress are made of supreme importance, and the mad sacrifice to Mammon proceeds on Sundays, as if laboring men had no Sabbath, no public worship to offer, no souls to save. Against this unnecessary labor, this atheistic profanation of the Lord's Day, this paganizing and brutalizing of the laboring man, and shutting out from his life all religious light and grace, this Federation should resolutely use its power, in civic as well as in social and private life. We will never be able to adjust all wrongs, or to correct all evils in society; but we can restrain many abuses, correct many evils, and do much good to all men and advance the cause of Christ. Such is our mission. Catholic union saved the day in Germany and

Holland. The want of Catholic union lost the battle in France. Materialism and secularism have triumphed there. The government has turned against God and openly blasphemed the Saviour of men. Atheism, persecution, rapine, child-murder and animalism are having their hour of triumphs.

Our whole policy is constructive. We wish to build rather than to destroy. We aim to be zealous in doing good, rather than petulant or narrow in complaining of grievances. In the great movements which are exerting their forces round about us, Catholics should be the first to recognize and encourage what is true and good, and to point out and condemn what is false and evil.

We are men—we are Christians. Everything that pertains to man's welfare, spiritual or corporal, temporal or eternal, is our faith and our ethics. The spirit of liberty and personal initiative is awake and struggling against the tyranny and selfishness of materialism. We must not be too hasty to condemn the popular movements of those who are striving to improve their condition. The Church does not wish to repress that spirit of liberty, but to take it into the service of religion. The Church wishes to make of the spirit of independence and progress a true friend and ally, while she guides the men of this age in the path of truth, justice and Christian freedom. Every man, from the president of the United States to the humblest toiler in the land, should be made to feel that this Federation is with him in every effort to defend right and redress wrong.

Laymen, through this Federation, can make the Church known to thousands whom the clergy cannot reach. Already the light is breaking, and the best minds of this country are realizing the truth of Catholic principles of

civil, social, domestic and private virtue. Heretofore there has been wanting a united effort and expression of Catholics for the rights of religion and the welfare of society. In many places we have needed educated and religious laymen, trained to compete and lead in the public careers of American life. We are one in six or seven of the population: the proportion of our numbers in the higher offices ought to be one in six or seven. By the very moral force of character and Christian education of our rising young men, and the weight of our union, we will gradually overcome the traditions of bigotry and mistrust which have often excluded worthy men from public office.

Never in the history of the country was there a better opportunity for Catholic laymen to prove the value and power of religion in citizenship, and to show how religion alone can conserve the majesty of law and the stability of the State.

Catholics should always be on the side of the poor and the weak, as far as justice and honor will permit. They should study the social conditions and know the trials and hardships of the workingmen, and the doctrines of those who guide and control the labor organizations of the country. The poorer classes are thinking and studying social and economic conditions with a restless and discontented spirit. The working classes are being misled by false teachers, who are striving to alienate them from the Church, and to arouse in their minds a suspicion that there is a lack of sympathy and friendship towards them on the part of the clergy and the more prosperous Catholic laymen. There are members of our Catholic societies in all the trades and labor unions of the United States. Let this Federation be a school to prepare these

men to be the apostles of honesty and respect for law, of truth and morality to those about them, so that we may count every member of this union an opponent to the anti-Christian, materialistic, and socialistic doctrines of all sects and societies which rise up against religion and just government.

Bishops and priests and the laity should be foremost in all movements for education, political and social purity, and the improvement of the condition of the poorer working classes; improvement in their dwellings and manner of living, in their moral environment, in their efforts to obtain fair wages, without recourse to violence, and where possible, without recourse to strikes; to prevent the cheapening of labor by the employment of children and women in occupations unfit for them; in encouraging among the people useful societies; in opposing all unnecessary work on Sundays; but above all, in advancing their religious welfare and the Christian education of their children, and in all that will exert a salutary influence on the health, virtue and happiness of the masses.

The Catholic Church will be strong or feeble in American society, according as the lives of Catholic men are pure and true, or corrupt and false. If this Federation is a union of men and societies animated by the spirit of faith, and ruled by the strict principles of Christian morality, the gospel of Christ will operate and energize through it in every place, so that when one million of Christian men move with one will, and speak with one voice for truth and justice, no power can withstand them.

By our faith in Jesus Christ and its unchanging doctrines, we hold in our hands the future stability and peace of this country, and the principles of conscience, honesty, and personal responsibility upon which it rests. Religious

education, Catholic faith, and Catholic morality, are the only living forces which can save marriage, save the family, protect property, defend the poor and weak—save the State itself from the perils of materialism, secularism, and the cruelty and sensuality of paganism.

Direct, we beseech Thee, O Lord, our actions by Thy holy inspirations, and carry them on by Thy gracious assistance; that every prayer and work of ours may always begin from Thee, and by Thee be happily ended. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

RT. REV. J. F. REGIS CANEVAN, D.D.,
Bishop of Pittsburg.



Divorce



IN accepting the invitation of our Right Reverend Bishop to address you, I assumed, whether rightly or wrongly, that you would not expect me to declaim at length upon the evils of divorce, for they are so widespread and notorious that they are known of all men. Nor did I presume that you would look forward to an exhaustive treatment of the attitude of the Church and of the State on the subject.

I assumed rather that I was expected to make a calm, temperate, concise—in a word, a judicial—presentation of the position of the Church and of the State upon this all-important subject; to point out briefly the facility for divorce afforded by our laws and the principles upon which divorce legislation is based to the end that your energies, on combating the evil, might be directed in proper channels.

A discussion of the subject of divorce among Catholics may seem somewhat anomalous, for “the discipline of the Church has ever maintained as the authentic meaning of Christ the unconditional perpetuity of the marital relation during the life of its parties, allowing for mutual right of separation on account of adultery or other grave causes, though never the right of marrying again during the lifetime of the other party.”

As members of the Church we accept the indissolubility of marriage as an article of our faith, and as a religious

question beyond the pale of discussion. Not, therefore, to justify the dogma of the Church in this regard, nor to enforce it upon the State as a rule of civil action, do we enter upon this discussion.

In common with thoughtful citizens of all shades of religious belief, we view as a great evil, threatening disaster to society and the State, the facility with which the marriage relation is sundered under the operation of our laws. To arouse ourselves to the gravity and imminence of the peril, and to encourage and support such rules of civil conduct as will make for the purity and stability of marriage, is our first duty as members of society and as loyal citizens of the State.

The State and the Church are not at variance in regarding marriage as the true, natural relation of the sexes, as a safeguard of public and private morals, as the source of the family relation, as essential to the highest civilization.

The greatest of American publicists, writing of the marital relation, says: "The primary and most important of the domestic relations is that of husband and wife. It has its foundation in nature, and is the lawful relation by which Providence has permitted the continuance of the human race. In every age it has a propitious influence on the moral improvement and happiness of mankind. It is one of the chief foundations of social order. We may justly place to the credit of the institution of marriage a great share of the blessings which flow from refinement of manners, the education of children, the sense of justice, and the cultivation of the liberal arts.

Viewed, therefore, solely as a human institution, the purity and stability of the marriage relation should be the chief concern of the State. Yet it is barely a hun-

dred years since a great ruler of a great Christian nation—Napoleon Bonaparte of France—promulgated a code of laws which, adopting the principle of the French revolution on the subject, authorized a dissolution of marriage without cause upon the mutual declaration of husband and wife that they desired to end the relation, and upon their mutual persistence in such desire for one year; and, as we speak, a bill has been submitted to the French parliament by a government commission which proposes to re-enact, in substance, this provision of the Code Napoleon.

It is a coincidence worthy of note that an attack on revealed religion is invariably accompanied by an attack on the Christian principle of the perpetuity of marriage, thus giving strength to the position of the Church that marriage is more than a natural institution, that it is a divine relation.

It may be said, however, to the credit of the Christian nations, that such a loose notion of the marital tie has never prevailed amongst them. However much they may have erred in recognizing and sanctioning the dissolubility of marriage and in enlarging the number of causes for which the relation may be dissolved, they have not countenanced the idea that the marriage relation can be terminated without cause at the pleasure of one or both of the contracting parties.

In the recognition of marriage as essential to the public welfare and to public and private morals, and as a relation indissoluble at the caprice of the parties, the State and the Church are in accord. But beyond these points of agreement the State and the Church hold diverse views as to the marital relation. The Church regards marriage as a sacrament, a sensible sign instituted by the Saviour

for our sanctification, and, therefore, to be broken only by God Himself in the decree of death.

The State regards marriage as a status, that is, the legal position of the parties with regard to the rest of the community; and as the relation involves the right and liability of many third persons, the State, for the protection of their rights and of the rights of the parties themselves, fixes the duties and liabilities of the married persons, and assumes the power to change the status and thereby their rights and liabilities by dissolving the relation for causes arising after the marriage.

While this has ever been the attitude of the State, the common law of England—which is the source of American law—followed the common law of the Church in regarding marriage indissoluble for any cause supervening the marriage. Occasionally, however, the State, through acts of Parliament, exercised its prerogative of dissolving the marriage relation for conjugal infidelity. Until 1857 this was the only method in England for procuring a divorce. This, of course, was a troublesome and expensive process and resort thereto was comparatively infrequent. In the year indicated the pressure for more facility in sundering the marriage tie resulted in the establishment of a divorce court, with jurisdiction to decree divorce for infidelity. Needless to add that ever-increasing throngs appealed to the court to be relieved of the restraints and obligations of their marriage vows. There, too, the cry for the "open door" for divorce is persistent, and the daily press informs us that a movement is now under way, upon the suggestion of the president of the divorce court, to add persistent cruelty and wilful neglect as causes for which the marriage may be dissolved.

Turning to our own country, we find that the power

of the State to dissolve marriage was exercised very sparingly during colonial days. It is asserted by Chancellor Kent that "during the period of our colonial government for more than one hundred years preceding the revolution, no divorce took place in the colony of New York." Our practical immunity from the divorce evil during those early days was largely due to the operation of the common law of England then in force in the colonies, and which, following the canon law, did not sanction the dissolubility of marriage. With the achievement of independence, however, judicial divorce followed even more rapidly than in the mother country.

In 1787 the power to dissolve marriage for conjugal infidelity was conferred upon the Court of Chancery in the State of New York; and in each one of the thirteen original States, with the single illustrious exception of South Carolina, the courts were soon authorized to decree divorce for various causes. As each new star was added to the flag, a new divorce jurisdiction was created.

The constitution of the United States confers no power upon the Federal government to legislate upon or regulate divorce in the several States, and as the regulation of the status of the citizen is regarded as purely a matter of domestic concern, each State possesses the exclusive power to legislate upon the subject of divorce within its own territory. Thus we have in every State in the union, except South Carolina, where divorce has never been authorized, a different divorce jurisdiction, with variant forms of procedure and with varying causes for which divorce may be decreed. No wonder that the United States is regarded as the Elysium for those who chafe under the matrimonial yoke. In every State, except South Carolina, conjugal infidelity is regarded as a com-

petent cause for divorce; in thirty-nine of these States wilful desertion or voluntary abandonment for periods varying from one to five years is an additional cause. In thirty-six States conviction for crime committed after the marriage, usually of the degree of felony, followed by imprisonment for periods ranging from one year to five years, is deemed a sufficient cause. In thirty-four States habitual drunkenness for a period as low as one year in some States is regarded an adequate cause. In thirty-four States cruelty is a sufficient cause; in five States conviction of crime before the marriage, of which the innocent spouse had no knowledge at the time of the marriage, is ground for divorce; and in six States insanity occurring after the marriage authorizes a dissolution of the marriage relation. Among the causes not so generally sanctioned are lewd behavior in Kentucky, misbehavior in Rhode Island, habitual indulgence of violent temper in Florida, and intolerable severity in Vermont.

You will agree, I think, that the causes for divorce are of infinite variety in the United States, and as you pass from State to State you run the whole gamut of conceivable causes for dissolving the marriage relation short of the mere caprice of the parties. Perhaps that is too strong a statement, for the civil law of ancient Rome permitted the husband to divorce his wife for attending the theatre or public games without his consent—a cause which has apparently been overlooked by modern legislators.

It is worthy of note that the older States are no less liberal in their divorce laws than the new States. As each State possesses exclusive power to regulate and change the status of its citizens, it is only necessary for the citizen of a State, when the laws limit the causes for

divorce, to move to another State where the laws are more liberal, and after a residence there of a period varying from six months to two or three years, to obtain a divorce for a cause not recognized as sufficient by the laws of the State in which he first resided. If the other spouse resides outside of the State in which the action is instituted, service of the summons by publication in newspapers is deemed sufficient to give the court jurisdiction of the defendant, and thus the marriage may be dissolved without any actual knowledge on the part of the other party that any such suit has been instituted. A judgment of divorce thus obtained is deemed valid and binding in all the other States of the Union except in New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and South Carolina. Thus the strict laws of one State are rendered ineffective by the liberal laws of another.

The refusal of New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and South Carolina to recognize as binding upon their citizens a divorce obtained in another State upon service of the summons by publication has created this unique situation. A husband domiciled in Connecticut institutes an action in that State against his wife, who is domiciled in New York, for a divorce for a cause regarded as sufficient in Connecticut, but not an adequate cause in New York. The summons is served by publishing it in Connecticut newspapers. The wife has no actual knowledge of the suit and does not defend. The husband proves his cause and the Connecticut court dissolves the marriage, and in that State he is again a single man, with all the rights that appertain to that condition. But in New York courts hold that jurisdiction was never acquired by the Connecticut court over the wife, and that here the marriage is in full force. Therefore

if that luckless man should stray over the boundary line into New York he would find himself a married man, with all the liabilities of that condition.

Truly as wondrous and perplexing a case of double personality as the famous Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

The facility for divorce is further enlarged by the collusion of the parties. Of course, the laws of all the States prohibit collusion; that is, the mutual consent of the parties that one or the other commit some act upon which an action can be founded, in order that one or the other may get a divorce. It is the experience of all judges having to do with divorce causes that in many cases, though there may be no tangible evidence of collusion upon which to deny a decree, the whole atmosphere seems surcharged with it.

Chancellor Kent, writing in 1832 of this phase of the divorce evil, says: "I have had occasion to believe, in the exercise of judicial cognizance over numerous cases of divorce, that the sin of adultery was sometimes committed on the part of the husband for the very purpose of divorce."

My personal experience is that this aspect of the evil is even more pronounced in these days.

It has been suggested that, as the State is interested in the maintenance of the marriage, the prosecuting attorney of the county should be required to appear in all undefended divorce actions to prevent collusion between the parties, a suggestion which has much merit.

The manifold causes for divorce recognized by the laws of the various States, the ease with which the stricter laws of one State may be evaded by a temporary sojourn in a State where a more liberal policy prevails, and the collusion of the parties which exists to an alarm-

ing extent, have created a veritable saturnalia of divorce in the United States.

Incomplete statistics gathered by the federal government for the twenty years, from 1867 to 1886, show 328,716 marriages dissolved throughout the United States. It is, I think, entirely safe to say that these divorces directly involved the welfare of from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 persons. If the statistics for the past twenty years were available, the figures would startle the nation.

The principle upon which divorce legislation proceeds is, that when any of the causes hereinbefore mentioned exists, the connection is rendered wholly intolerable or inconsistent with the happiness or safety of the innocent spouse and, therefore, should be completely severed. It may be here observed that the happiness or safety of the innocent party would be as well subserved by a separation from bed and board only, which the Church permits for adultery or other grave causes.

In all the States re-marriage is permitted to the innocent party. The guilty spouse is allowed to marry, as, of course, in most of the States, and in the remainder after a short probationary period.

The right of re-marriage is defended on three principal grounds. It is urged that if there were no possibility of extricating oneself from an unfortunate marriage, many persons would be dissuaded from marriage, to the consequent detriment of the State, which is strengthened by marriage and the fruits thereof. This might be answered by the suggestion that if it were known that marriage was indissoluble, more discretion would be exercised in contracting the relation and there would be fewer mismated couples. It is further argued that if the marriage could not be vacated for any mis-

conduct, many married persons would not behave with the propriety they would if the continuance of the contract were dependent on their exertions to render themselves agreeable to the persons with whom they are connected. In other words, the bogey of divorce tends to keep married folks in the straight and narrow way.

A simple decree of separation imposing upon the husband, in case of guilt of serious misconduct, the burden of separate maintenance of his family and the loss of custody of his children, and in case of guilt of the wife, depriving her of support and of the custody of the children, with the certainty that no new marriage relation could be entered into, would, I imagine, be much more effective in restraining misbehavior.

Finally, it is urged that if re-marriage were not permitted, the separated parties would be "doomed to celibacy or sexual outlawry." It may as well be admitted that this is the most formidable argument in support of absolute divorce. It may be said in reply, however, that perpetuity of the marriage relation would result in greater care and caution in entering the marital state, and consequently in fewer unfortunate marriages—and would result in more patience and forbearance in preserving harmony after marriage. While we may concede the hardship of depriving the innocent from contracting a new alliance which might prove harmonious and agreeable, we must not lose sight of the fact that under the present system the guilty ones are turned loose upon the community with power to blight other lives, nor can we forget that the welfare of society as a whole is paramount to the interests of a few.

In commenting upon the policy of South Carolina, in refusing to recognize the dissolubility of marriage, the

Supreme Court of that State says: "The observation of a different policy in other States, as well as the experience of our own, has served only to confirm the conviction that it is better to tolerate occasional sufferings than to jeopardize the peace of society and open a wide door to fraud, imposition and other immorality."

While it may not be possible in our day and generation to induce the State to recognize the perpetuity of the marital relation, yet it is possible for the men and women here represented to wield a powerful influence in arousing the public conscience to the grave menace to society and to the State which exists under the operation of our manifold divorce laws. I do not deem it within my province to suggest your action, but I think I may be permitted to say that the movements on foot to secure uniformity of legislation in the subject of divorce among the different States of the Union, to diminish the causes for which divorce may be decreed and to make more rigid the procedure are worthy of your encouragement and support.

The laxity of our marriage laws may be likened to that which obtained under the Mosaic dispensation. You will recall the passages of the Old Law: "When a man hath taken a wife and married her and it comes to pass that she find no favor in his eyes because he hath found some uncleanness in her; then let him write her a bill of divorcement and give it in her hand and send her out of his house—and when she is departed out of his house she may go and be another man's wife."

The effect of that law was to render the evil of divorce general and notorious as it is to-day.

Jesus came out of Nazareth to proclaim the New Law. He abrogated the law of Moses and restored perpetuity

to the marriage relation. When the Pharisees called His attention to the command of Moses, He answering, said: "By reason of the hardness of your heart he wrote you that precept. Have you not heard that He who made man from the beginning made them male and female? And He said: For this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be in one flesh. Therefore, now they are not two, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

May we not look forward to the time when the State, looking back at the divorce laws of our day, shall say to society: "Those laws were written because of the hardness of your hearts. They are repealed. The State proclaims the unconditional perpetuity of marriage as essential to the peace and happiness of mankind and to the progress of civilization?"

HON. DANIEL J. KENNEFICK,

Of the Supreme Court.

A third notable discourse at the Convention was the one delivered by the Hon. Nicholas Gonner, of Dubuque, on Socialism.

Resolutions of the American Federation of Catholic Societies



AMERICAN Federation was begun six years ago. Notwithstanding considerable indifference and occasional opposition, it has progressed far beyond the hopes of its organizers. Aside from specific matters of moment taken up and brought to a successful issue, it can rightfully claim to have been a large factor in educating American and Catholic thought and opinion to a more correct understanding of what Catholicity really is and what it stands for in the nation.

In the first place, it has proved that the apprehension which made some Catholics hold aloof from Federation lest it might alarm Protestant sentiment against the Church was totally unfounded. On the contrary, it has been welcomed by all well-meaning non-Catholics, who, recognizing Catholic influence as a salutary factor in our national life, welcome any movement that can consolidate and apply its forces more effectually. So also those who predicted that it would split on the rock of politics have been wofully disappointed.

Meantime, while the National Federation has kept growing, the State and County Federations are increasing, and every one has proved to be a powerful influence in its locality. Federation is no longer on trial. It has shown itself worthy of the confidence and approbation of the many members of the hierarchy who have endorsed it.

Its last convention, made up of delegates representing

1,500,000 associates, demonstrates what it has now become. It was held at Buffalo, July 30-31, and August 1. Prelates and priests, men high in church affairs, and representatives of vast organizations, took part in its deliberations. On the platform were the Most Reverend S. G. Messmer, Archbishop of Milwaukee; the Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton; the Rt. Rev. Charles H. Colton, Bishop of Buffalo; the Rt. Rev. J. F. R. Caneven, Bishop of Pittsburg, and the Rt. Rev. M. J. Hoban, Bishop of Scranton. There were delegates from the Catholic Foresters; the German Centralverein; the Catholic Benevolent Legion; the Catholic Mutual Benevolent Association; Western Catholic Union; the Young Men's Institute; the Women's Catholic Order of Foresters; the Bohemian Catholic Federation; the Slavonic Catholic Union; the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, and latest of the great accessions, the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Our Indian brethren were represented by two chiefs of the Sioux. Hawaii could not send its delegate on account of the distance.

The Pope cabled his blessing on the deliberations of the assembly, and letters were received from Mgr. Falconio, the Apostolic Delegate; Archbishop Farley, of New York; Archbishop Riordan, of San Francisco; Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis; Bishop Stang, of Fall River; Bishop Verdaguer, of Brownsville, Texas; Bishop Stariha, of South Dakota, and Herr Ersberger, of the German Reichstag and Centre Party.

The utterances of such an assembly will afford an excellent example of the Catholic mind of America. We have already published two of the discourses pronounced at the public meetings, one by the Bishop of Pittsburg, the other by an eminent jurist of Buffalo, both of them re-

markable for the clear and comprehensive treatment of the subjects considered. Another eminent layman discussed the question of Socialism in a manner that showed how reliable are Catholic instincts on such subjects.

The resolutions are the pronouncements of the whole body, for they were not only studied in the committees, but discussed at length before the general assembly. They give the Catholic mind on a variety of the most vital subjects that interest the American public at the present moment. They are as follows:

SOCIALISM.

Reiterating the resolution of the Convention of 1904 commending the thorough study of the Social Question, especially in the light of the Pastoral Letters of Pope Leo XIII, urging also the formation of Catholic workmen's societies, and, admitting that many of the economic demands which Socialism makes are founded on right and justice, we call attention, above all, to the following points:

1. While recognizing the abhorrence entertained by most of the workingmen of our country for irreligion and anarchy, we should not fail to point out the danger of their being gradually inoculated with the most vicious principles of the movement by co-operation with their advocates, and especially by reading Socialist publications and contributing to the Socialist papers.

2. We cordially sympathize with wage earners in their efforts to ameliorate their condition in the matter of fair wages, habitable dwellings and just diminution of the hours of grinding and oppressive toil, provided the limits of law and order be not transgressed, but we denounce the attempts of unprincipled demagogues to pervert labor organizations into instruments of political revolution.

3. Acknowledging the right of every man to increase his worldly wealth by just and honest means, and applauding the endeavors of certain great corporations to better the physical and moral environments of their employees; on the other hand we reprobate as un-Christian and inhuman the use of wealth for the purpose of corruption, oppression and plunder, and its neglect of works of benevolence and charity.

4. Although we welcome to our shores all the victims of poverty and oppression, we emphatically commend the action of the Government in excluding anarchists and apostles of rebellion; and while conceding within certain limits the right of freedom of speech and of the press, we protest against the publication of anarchistic papers, the convocation of revolutionary meetings and the formation of revolutionary clubs in which doctrines of anarchy are proclaimed.

Finally, we invite all Christians to distinguish themselves by their absolute freedom from, and their unmistakable disapproval of, any of those forms of Socialism which even remotely aim at the destruction of Christianity, the subversion of civil government, the invasion of the rights of property, the rights of God and the rights of man.

DIVORCE.

As Catholics, we are steadfastly opposed to all forms of absolute divorce under any legislation by the State, and this conviction we will not compromise as citizens. While recognizing the fact that there is a strong sentiment in the community favoring divorce for serious causes, yet liberty of conscience is violated, when the law compels the unhappy spouse seeking redress for domestic wrong, either to apply for absolute divorce,

though this be opposed to the conscience of the applicant, or to remain without any redress at all. For grave causes the Church has always allowed its members the remedy of a limited divorce, that is, a separation from bed and board, so that property rights and the custody of children may be judiciously settled, and hence provision for such judicial separations ought to be made by those of the States which now have no such provisions. But even should the law permit absolute divorce for designated causes, the applicant opposed in conscience to such divorce should have the right to a limited divorce, as the applicant ought not to be coerced to appear in court as if denying his religious convictions.

We feel it our duty, and the duty of all Catholics, to do what may be possible to educate those not within the Church to the doctrine that under no circumstances should the parties to a lawful marriage be permitted to marry again during the lifetime of either spouse, feeling sure that upon the preservation of this institution, monogamous and life-long, rests the corner-stone of the highest and best civilization. We are gratified to know that public sentiment is aroused to the evil tendency of the loose and conflicting divorce laws of the different States of the Union, and we shall hail it as a most encouraging sign that a Congress of representatives from the different States has been convened to suggest a uniform statute to reform the present intolerable conditions.

Sooner or later the truth of the Catholic doctrine upon this subject must be brought home to the community, and in the meantime we commend the efforts of the Legislature and the Governor of Pennsylvania, at whose instance the Divorce Congress was assembled, of the President of the United States, whose message to Con-

gress on the subject had such far-reaching effect, and of the Divorce Congress itself for its enlightened efforts to bring about a reform so greatly needed.

SANCTIFICATION OF THE LORD'S DAY.

Mindful of the great lesson written in unmistakable characters in the history of the nations, that the religious, social and moral welfare of peoples are most intimately bound up with the proper observance of the Lord's Day, we deeply deplore the ever-increasing tendency among the masses to turn the Lord's Day from its original divine institution as a day devoted primarily to the special worship of God, into a day of mere pleasure and frivolous and sinful amusement.

We further deprecate and strongly condemn the un-Christian action of those employers, both public and private, who, actuated mostly by greed and in absolute and scandalous disregard of the sanctity of the Lord's Day, force their employees to perform unnecessary servile labor on Sunday.

Where necessity really requires such labor, we demand that the employers make some provision so that their employees may be enabled to assist at least at divine service.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

Resolved, That the Federation again urge upon the Catholic public the universal and cordial support of our parochial schools, and that where it can be done and is necessary, that these schools be graded even higher than they now are. For the Federation observes with great satisfaction a growing ambition in our parochial schools in the pursuit of greater efficiency in equipment, teaching and teachers. In this connection, and in the terms of our resolution adopted at the Detroit conven-

tion, we again observe with deep satisfaction the gradual growth among our non-Catholic fellow citizens of the conviction that religious instruction of some sort in the school is absolutely necessary for the welfare of our country. Witness the discussions of the National Educational Association, and of the Religious Education Association, both of which fully justify the position maintained by Catholics for half a century. We also note with pleasure that while the pupils of our Catholic schools receive a thorough religious training, their proficiency in secular studies is not inferior, but in many cases superior to that of public school children. Convinced that we are not called upon to suggest plans for the various non-Catholic denominations, we propose this solution of the school fund problem as satisfactory to the Catholic body:

First, let no public moneys be paid out for religious instruction in any school; *secondly*, let the educational per capita tax be disbursed for results in purely secular studies only in our Catholic schools, our teachers receiving their salaries as other teachers receive theirs; *thirdly*, to obtain these results let our schools be submitted to State or city examinations. For in this way will the great principle of our Government be preserved: "No public moneys for sectarian purposes."

INDIAN QUESTION.

We express our confidence in the outcome of the test suit now pending in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to determine the question of the rights of the Indians to the use of the tribal funds for the education of their children in schools of their own choice. And we also express our gratification at the stand taken by President Roosevelt as a result of the appeal by

Bishop Schinner, of Superior, Wis., from the action of the agent at Bad River Reservation, who had forcibly removed Indian children from the Catholic school at Odanah, where their parents had placed them, and deciding that the local agents have no right to transfer children from one school to another against the parents' wishes. And we wish to make public expression of our commendation of the fair and impartial action of the President in the above matters.

THE STAGE.

Aware of the refining and educational power of the drama, but alarmed at its very common degradation at the present time, we invite a movement for its regeneration:

1. By refusing to patronize any play that offends against morality.

2. By not failing to protest against indecent costumes, as well as against objectionable interludes of otherwise excellent plays.

3. By exerting our influence with the municipal authorities to enforce the laws or cause them to be enacted, when they have not been passed, against improper exhibitions, either on the stage itself or by mechanical devices, and especially to enforce laws forbidding the admission of children into theaters unattended by parents or guardians.

4. By denouncing all public advertisements or posters which tend to corrupt public morals.

IMMIGRATION.

WHEREAS, Catholic immigrants are coming into the United States at the rate of about 300,000 every year; and

WHEREAS, such immigrants, if properly cared for spir-

itually, will be a source of strength to the Church in the days to come; and

WHEREAS, our Catholic immigrants, by reason of their morality, honesty and industry, are destined to play an important part in the future well-being of the country, if means be now taken to safeguard their faith, while they will, on the other hand, prove a menace, should the Church lose its hold upon them;

WHEREAS, the solution of the problem presented by the vast army of Catholics landing on our shores calls for intelligent, systematic and united action on the part of the hierarchy, clergy and laity; be it therefore

Resolved, That the allied Catholic societies in this country give all possible aid to the Bishops and clergy of the country in the work of caring for the immigrants of all nationalities, and that this aid be of such immediate and practical a character, that it will enable those who are in immediate charge of these immigrants to do the work efficiently and in a manner to compete successfully with all those elements which endanger the spiritual welfare of the immigrants. In this connection, be it further

Resolved, That the A. F. of C. S. commend the great and truly zealous work of the different Catholic Immigrant Homes, and Catholic Houses for Sailors in the seaports of the United States, and that it encourage, in the strongest terms, the establishment and support of houses of this kind. In this same connection, be it further

Resolved, That the Federation desires by every means in its power to manifest its appreciation and approval of the work of those prelates, clergymen and laymen who are promoting and establishing colonies of Catholic families in sparsely settled portions of the United States.

THE PRESS.

Resolved, That we sincerely deplore the anarchistic tendency of our sensational newspapers, and that at the same time we heartily indorse and commend the policy of those journals whose object is truth, fair play, the elimination of all sensational and indecent details in the treatment of crimes and criminals, and the suppression of all advertisements and representations which aim to suggest evil practices and otherwise to debauch the public or private conscience and offer all manner of incentive to crime to the young and immature or wicked members of the community; nevertheless the Federation regrets the widespread apathy of Catholics in the exercise of a wholesome influence over the secular press. Moreover, the Federation heartily urges that our Catholic people support the Catholic press in the practical way of subscription and the habit of advertising in this press. In this connection it is the wish of the Federation that Catholics throughout the country more efficiently urge our public libraries, or at least co-operate with these libraries, to place Catholic books, periodicals and papers upon their shelves. At the same time the Federation embraces this opportunity of recommending to the editors of our Catholic press that they exercise a due care in safeguarding their publications from any witticism, caricature or statement that might in any way reflect upon, or be offensive to, the nationality or creed of any of our fellow citizens.

LITERATURE.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Federation that a taste for good books and papers be earnestly cultivated by our Catholic people, as an antidote to the religious, philosophical and historical errors prevalent in our time.

And in this connection we take occasion to recognize and appreciate the liberal advance made of late years by non-Catholic publishing concerns in the number, the literary and typographical merit of the Catholic works issuing from their presses. Nevertheless we wish to express our far greater satisfaction at the many substantial improvements made by Catholic publishers in their publications along every line of Catholic literature. Moreover, we desire to signify in this convention our pleasure at the spread and enlargement of parish, sodality and society libraries among our Catholic people. We would, however, recommend that in cities where a large Catholic population exists that greater and more ably stocked libraries be established which would encourage and render possible wider and more thorough study on the part of the Catholic body.

CHURCH EXTENSION.

WHEREAS, it is the first duty of Catholics to help save those who rightfully belong to the household of the faith; and

WHEREAS, many of our people have been lost to the faith because they have settled in churchless localities; and

WHEREAS, the immigrant problem is now acute throughout the United States, and the work of providing immigrants with churches and priests is one of primary importance; and

WHEREAS, there has been, for years, a manifest need of an organization having for its purposes the support of priests, laboring in the poorer missions of the country; and

WHEREAS, there exists a widespread propaganda on the part of the non-Catholic missionary societies which have

for object the perversion of our neglected Catholic brethren; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Federation heartily indorses the aims and purposes and methods of the Catholic Church Extension Society, and that it recommends that the allied societies and the members of the Federation support and advance the laudable work of said Catholic Church Extension Society by every means within their power.

MISSIONS TO NON-CATHOLICS.

Resolved, That the Federation views with the greatest approval and encouragement the great work of zeal carried on among our non-Catholic brethren through missions to non-Catholics. This country is filled with men and women thirsting for the truth, crying for the bread of life, and there is no one to break it to them. On the one hand they will not come to our churches, on the other they have an ethical right to the teachings of Him who said, "Go teach all nations," bear the truth to every creature. Wherefore we are pleased to note the zeal of those who have determined to bring God to those who will not come to Him, and are particularly pleased to note the favor with which this new departure in the apostolate of the Church has been received by prelates and priests, and the faithfulness and the willingness exhibited on the part of those to whom these missions are given, to hear and profit by the truth which is preached to them.

ON USE OF LANGUAGES IN THE FEDERATION.

WHEREAS, it has been repeatedly charged that the American Federation of Catholic Societies has, as one of its objects, the abolition of foreign languages and the forced amalgamation of the different nationalities of our

country, we feel it our duty, at this time, to make the following declarations:

First: We fully recognize the powerful influence of the mother tongue in the preservation of holy faith, and in the formation of character.

Second: We acknowledge the rights of Catholic immigrants and of their children to receive religious instruction in the language which they understand best and cherished most.

Third: The American Federation of Catholic Societies further recognizes the injustice and the absurdity of every effort to force these immigrants and their descendants to abandon the use of their mother tongue, and we declare in connection that the solution of the problem of blending into one homogeneous nation the diverse peoples which have emigrated to our shores, should be left to the natural process of time, and that any attempt, however well meaning, to force this consummation, is inadvisable, and to be deprecated.

Finally, we solemnly declare that while the American Federation of Catholic Societies cherishes the fond hope of being a means of bringing about a better understanding and a closer union among the different nationalities which make up the Catholic population of this country, it will never interfere with their rightful desire to preserve their mother tongue and the noble and glorious traditions of their mother countries.

The American Federation of Catholic Societies, fully convinced of the justice and correctness of its position upon this language-question, again welcomes and cordially invites all the Catholics and the Catholic bodies of our country to join this Federation, whatever be the language in which they worship God.

THE DEAF MUTES AND BLIND.

WHEREAS, investigation proves that the religious training of our deaf mutes and blind has been deplorably neglected, and especially in State schools, either through proselytism or through the cold indifference of their friends; a very large proportion of our Catholic deaf mute and blind children have lost "the one thing necessary," the priceless treasure of the faith; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Federation, conscious of its high purpose, shall strive to awaken a warmer interest in the salvation of the deaf mutes and blind, that freedom of worship shall be firmly exacted for them in State schools throughout the country; that pastors be urged to open Sunday-schools for their instruction and the approach to the Sacraments, the channels of grace, made easy for these little ones of our Lord; that Catholic books and papers be disseminated among them, and our Catholic people be exhorted to learn their simple language and welcome to broad fields of usefulness and respect; that the Executive Committee be instructed to investigate the question and take such action as may be necessary.

PLACES OF INNOCENT AMUSEMENT FOR CATHOLIC YOUTH.

Resolved, That while we hold that no place of amusement should compare with the attractions of the Catholic home surroundings, we nevertheless believe that there exists a demand for club rooms or halls of social and parochial pastime in which our Catholic youth may assemble for innocent and instructive amusement under Catholic influence, and removed from the dangers of non-Catholic and sectarian clubs which are always a detriment to Catholic faith and morals. It is the wish, accordingly, of the Federation that the Catholic body take this matter

into serious consideration, especially with reference to interparochial society halls, and that the Catholic body will seek membership in Catholic organizations in preference to non-Catholic organizations where the same advantages are offered.

THE PATRONAGE AND SUPPORT OF CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS
OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

Resolved, That the Federation of Catholic Societies is entirely of the conviction that the Catholics of our country should patronize and encourage our Catholic institutions of higher education, inasmuch as these institutions are on a par with non-Catholic colleges and universities. And while we realize that some of our Catholic youth are forced, in the pursuit of certain studies, to frequent non-Catholic institutions, the Federation earnestly recommends to the Catholic body that it speedily enable our Catholic institutions to supply these departments and their equipment, and further recommends that all professorships in these same institutions shall be manned with professors qualified by every legitimate test of ability and efficiency.

CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

Resolved, That the American Federation of Catholic Societies views with pleasure and satisfaction the work of the Catholic Educational Association, and considers the work recently done at its Cleveland convention to be a source of great benefit to our Catholic schools. Especially do we indorse the resolutions setting forth that our system of religious education is not a hindrance but a support to the principle of authority and obedience; that any legislation contemplating the hindrance of private voluntary efforts for education must be looked upon as unwise and opposed to the spirit of American liberty;

that higher as well as elementary education is necessary for our Catholic youth; that our young men who enter upon professional studies should be provided with their academic degrees or their equivalent; that more attention should be given to the higher education of our boys; that the attention of laymen should be called to the financial needs of higher Catholic education.

SYMPATHY WITH ENGLISH CATHOLICS.

Resolved, That the Federation, in union with the Catholic Educational Association, extends the sympathy of American Catholic Societies to the Catholics of England in their gallant fight for freedom of conscience in education, and that we offer them our sincere wishes, and pledge our prayers for their success in their struggle for Catholic education.

CATHOLIC YOUNG MEN'S UNION.

Resolved, That it is the earnest desire of the Federation that a Young Men's Catholic Association be founded for the growing social needs of our Catholic young men. For it is the undisguised and unalterable opinion of the Federation that no Catholic young man should affiliate with or patronize any non-Catholic society, or that any Catholic man or woman should lend his support to any association whose real work is the ignoring of Catholic doctrine, Catholic precepts, and members of the Catholic Church.

RECOMMENDATION FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

It is recommended that on the floor of this Convention the Federation makes its wish manifest to the delegates that a universal movement should be set on foot by the local Federations for the distribution of Catholic literature to the inmates of penal and charitable institutions.

Holy Communion
in the
Early Church



Holy Communion in the Early Church



THE recently published Decree of the Congregation expressly instituted for the authentic interpretation of the Tridentine Decrees, provides us with a suitable opportunity of laying succinctly before the public the precise signification of the statement frequently made, that in primitive times the Eucharist was received daily by the faithful.

In the first place we have to consider the cause for which It was instituted. Is It, on the one hand, to be regarded as the reward for a few faithful souls, or on the other as the medicine of the weak and falling? For, according as we adopt one opinion or the other, we must advocate the occasional or frequent reception of Christ's Body.

The history of the controversy is briefly told in the words of the Decree(1) before us:

"When in later times piety grew cold, and more especially under the influence of the plague of Jansenism, disputes began to arise concerning the dispositions with which it was proper to receive Communion frequently or daily; and writers vied with one another in imposing more and more stringent conditions as necessary to be fulfilled. The result of such disputes was that very few

(1) *Sacra Tridentina*, Dec. 20, 1905. Sac. Cong. Concilii.

were considered worthy to communicate daily, and to derive from this most healing Sacrament its more abundant fruits; the rest being content to partake of it once a year, or once a month, or at utmost, weekly. Nay, to such a pitch was rigorism carried that whole classes of persons were excluded from a frequent approach to the holy table; for instance, those who were engaged in trade, or even those who were living in a state of matrimony. . . . The controversy as to the dispositions requisite for lawful and laudable frequentation survived the declaration of the Holy See,(1) so much so that certain theologians of good repute judged that daily Communion should be allowed to the faithful only in rare cases and under many conditions.

What these conditions were may be gathered from Father Lehmkuhl, S.J.,(2) who is justly regarded as representing the theological opinions of the day. *Weekly* Communion, he says, should not be denied to those who are habitually free from mortal sin, and are making a serious fight against venial transgressions. Communion *on alternate days* is to be permitted to those who avoid deliberate venial sin and are overcoming their lesser faults. Finally, *daily* Communion requires "not only a serious striving against bad inclinations, but even in great measure that they should be eradicated." It is accordingly to be granted only to those few chosen souls who "make daily progress in the illuminative and unitive way." He goes on to give his reasons, which in brief amount to what has been already said, namely, that there

(1) Innocent XI., *Cum ad Aures*, Feb. 12, 1679; Denzinger, 1086.

(2) *Theol. Mor.* ii. 156.

is a certain venial irreverence in receiving Christ into a soul stained with sin, and furthermore, that greater reverence will accrue to a less frequent reception.

There is, on the other hand, the opposite school, who, in the words of the same Decree, "under the persuasion that daily Communion was a Divine precept, and in order that no day might pass without the reception of the Sacrament, besides other practices contrary to the approved custom of the Church, held that the Holy Eucharist ought to be received, and in fact administered it, even on Good Friday."

This extreme view was condemned by Innocent XI., together with certain other abuses, such as the reception of many particles, private reservation by the laity, and others of a similar nature. But the controversy was no new one, for we learn from St. Augustine that it agitated the African Church of his day:

"Many things are fixed and established for the whole Church, but there are others which vary in different localities; some fast on Saturday, others do not; some communicate daily of the Body and Blood of Christ, others again only at prescribed intervals. In some places no day is omitted on which the Holy Sacrifice is not offered; in others, again, it is restricted to Saturdays and Sundays, sometimes to Sunday only." (1)

He goes on to say that each one ought to conform to his own Church, and mentions the oft-quoted instance of his mother, St. Monica, who was in distress because she had entered the Church of Milan after taking food; and of the prudent advice given her by St. Ambrose; and he avers that there is no authority in Scripture or

(1) *Ep. ad Januar.* Migne, *P.L.* xxxiii. 200.

in the universal tradition of the Church either for daily fast or Communion. Then, after quoting the opinion of some that if a man is not excommunicate he ought to receive this divine medicine of souls, he concludes with the remark that the most important thing is to keep in God's grace, and then to do what each one's conscience may suggest. St. Jerome's answer(1) is to the same effect, as we shall afterwards see.

Now the present Decree, on which we are commenting, speaks in the most positive terms.

"This desire on the part of God was so well understood by the first Christians, that they daily flocked to the Holy Table as a source of life and strength. 'And they were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles and in the communication of the breaking of bread and prayers,'(2) and that this practice was continued in later ages, not without great fruit of holiness and perfection, the holy Fathers and ecclesiastical writers bear witness."

In the chapter of the Acts just quoted, we read: "Continuing daily with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart."(3) This "taking of meat" is of course to be understood of the *Agape*; but whether or not the first Christians celebrated their love-feasts daily, and when precisely they became separated from the Holy Eucharist, is a matter of great perplexity; and we are not concerned with the solution now. There was undoubtedly a solemn meeting on the first day of the week;(4) but it seems unlikely that such

(1) *P.L.* xxii. 672.

(2) Acts ii. 42.

(3) Acts ii. 46.

(4) Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

a formal celebration as the *Agape*, at which the rich administered to the wants of the poor, should have been of daily occurrence. But it may well have been otherwise, as we shall presently see.

Apart from the vague reference of pseudo-Ignatius to the Ephesians, (1) the earliest document to which we can refer is the *Didaché*, the celebrated *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, which most authorities (2) now assign to the early part of the second century—let us say 120. Here we have the outlines of a feast of thanksgiving in chapters ix., x., xiv., from which we gather the following facts: the assembly took place “each Lord’s Day,” when the faithful gathered together under the guidance of their Prophets (Bishops) to confess their sins, that the Sacrifice might not be defiled.

“And touching the feast of thanksgiving thus we give thanks: first concerning the cup, ‘We thank Thee, O our Father, for holy wine of David Thy child which has been made known to us by Thy Child Jesus; Thine be the glory for ever.’ And concerning the broken bread, ‘We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us by Thy Child Jesus; Thine be the glory for ever.’ . . . And let no one eat of our feast of thanksgiving but such as have been baptized in the name of our Lord. ‘Give not what is holy to dogs.’ And after being filled we thus give thanks: ‘We thank Thee Holy Father for Thy holy Name which Thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made

(1) “Make every endeavor to meet frequently for the reception of the Eucharist.” (Interp. Epp. 14.)

(2) Taylor, p. 32. Hitchcock and Brown, p. xc.

known by Thy Child Jesus . . . but to us Thou graciously givest spiritual food and drink and life eternal through Thy Child.'"

No one will be inclined to deny that the words refer conjointly to the Eucharist and *Agape*, in fact their very vagueness—due to the discipline of silence—indicates that something more sacred than a mere charitable reunion is being commemorated.

Turning now to the letter of Pliny(1) to Trajan, we find not only that "a certain day" was established for meetings, but that the assemblies took place before daylight, at which the Christians "sang hymns by turns to Christ as a god. They separated to meet again for food, but ordinary and harmless food." Substantially the same account is given by St. Justin Martyr(2) in A. D. 150, though of course with greater accuracy and detail. They all partook of bread, wine, and water, they returned thanks at the end, and carried a portion of the bread to those who were absent. Then follows a description of the *Agape*, to which the rich contributed, that the wants of their poorer brethren might be relieved.

It will have been observed that nothing so far has been adduced to prove that the faithful were accustomed to communicate oftener than once a week, and so to settle the ambiguous phrase in the second chapter of the Acts: "Continuing daily in the Temple, and breaking bread from house to house." However, Tertullian, whose evidence we are about to consider, clears up the difficulty to a great extent. In his explanation of the Our Father he writes:(3)

(1) *Epp.* x. 96.

(2) 1 *Apol.* 65—67.

(3) *De Orat.* 6.

“ . . . although we may rather understand spiritually ‘Give us this day our daily bread.’ For Christ is our life, and the Bread of Life. ‘I am,’ He said, ‘the Bread of Life,’ and a little above, ‘the Bread of God is that which cometh down from heaven,’ and again, because in bread is understood His Body. ‘This is My Body.’ Wherefore in praying for daily bread, we pray to be perpetually in Christ and undivided from His Body.”

This passage would seem conclusive evidence that daily Communion was at least something known to his readers, otherwise his words about eating daily the bread of life would be meaningless. But in the course of a letter to the Christian wife of an infidel husband, he uses words which apparently settle the matter.

“Will not your husband know what you taste in secret *before all food?* and if it appeareth to him to be bread, will he not believe it to be that which is reported?” (1) The reference here is to the practice of domestic Communion, indicated, as we have just seen, by St. Justin. We may, therefore, reasonably infer that after Mass on Sunday the faithful carried to their homes some sacred particles to be reserved in the *Arca*(2) and consumed privately. The explanation is quite in accord with the words of the Acts, and harmonizes with Pliny’s statement, who, it must be remembered, was a contemporary of Tertullian, albeit an older man. Twenty years later, in A. D. 260, St. Cyprian of Carthage calls upon his persecuted flock to remain faithful to their religion.

“Indeed it is the glory of our episcopate to have given

(1) *Ad Ux.* ii. 5.

(2) *P.L.* iv. 500.

strength to the martyrs that as priests who daily offer sacrifice to God, we may prepare the victim for God.(1)

“And we ask that this Bread should be given to us daily that we who are in Christ, and daily receive the Eucharist as the food of salvation, may not by the interposition of some heinous sin, by being prevented from partaking of this Heavenly Bread, be separated from Christ’s Body.(2)

And his Epistle to the martyrs runs to the same effect:

“A severe and a fierce fight is now threatening, for which the soldiers of Christ ought to prepare themselves with incorrupted faith and robust courage, considering that they drink the cup of Christ’s Blood daily, for the reason that they themselves also may be able to shed their blood for Christ.(3)

Here at any rate we have positive testimony that in A. D. 253 daily Communion was a well-established practice in the African Church, and that, under the most trying and difficult circumstances. Leaving Africa for Milan in the latter part of the fourth century, we get an equally clear answer to the question on which we are engaged. It matters little for our present purpose whether St. Ambrose actually wrote or merely inspired the treatise *De Sacramentis* which bears his name, for we are only seeking witnesses to an historical fact.

“And as often as Christ’s Blood is shed (it is shed for the remission of sin), I ought daily to receive Him; for since I continually sin, as continually should I drink of His medicine.(4)

(1) *De lapsis*, P.L. iii. 884.

(2) P.L. iv. 549.

(3) P.L. iv. 360.

(4) Bk. iv. 6.

"For if it is daily bread, why do you receive but annually, as the Greeks in the East are wont to do. Receive daily what will daily help you. So live that you may be fit to receive daily. He who is unfit for daily Communion is equally unworthy to receive but once a year."(1)

It is instructive to notice his view of the controversy: the Holy Eucharist is a medicine and not a reward; but here and in other places he is never tired of emphasizing the necessity of careful living. The reference to the Greeks will be explained later; in the meantime we may continue our review of the Western Church. St. Hilary of Poitiers writes, in A. D. 355:

"And what more does God wish than that He should live daily with you, who is the Bread of Life and the Bread of Heaven; and since [the Our Father] is our daily prayer, let us pray that we may receive it daily."(2)

Rome was not behind Africa and Gaul. St. Jerome, who knew the Holy City as he did Bethlehem, thus replies to an inquirer concerning fasts and Communion:

"You ask me if we should fast on Saturday, and whether the Eucharist should be received daily as the Roman and Spanish Churches are accustomed to do. . . . For my part I consider that the traditions of the Church ought to be observed as they have been handed down to us from our ancestors, and that customs introduced by others, not in accord with these, should be set aside. . . . Let every Province 'abound in its own sense' and reverence the precepts of our ancestors as the mandates of the apostles."(3)

(1)*Ibid.* v. 4.

(2)*P.L.* x. 725.

(3)*Ep. ad Lucas, P.L.* xxii. 672.

These are very strong words in the mouth of St. Jerome. The Apostolic tradition was something too sacred to be tampered with; and he would hardly have used a phrase which he has employed in proof of some of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity unless he really meant that daily Communion was of apostolic, or at least sub-apostolic origin.

Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine are all closely associated in life, and their testimony on this subject is equally unflinching. These are the words in which the latter addresses the catechumens on Maundy Thursday:

"The Paschal Lamb is eaten throughout the night of the world, but when that day shall dawn, which will never know evening, the Sacrifice which is the image of the Lamb shall no longer be offered, but the Lamb Himself, whom we daily receive and whose Blood we drink. Let us find therein Him who is the perfect Priesthood."(1)

Many questions appear to have been put to the Saint on this same subject, but he always answered with St. Jerome that local usage was the golden rule to follow. But we are introduced to a new aspect in his explanation of the fourth petition of the Our Father. After noting the ordinary meaning of natural bread, he says that it is considered by some to mean the Eucharist, and thus continues:

"Now, concerning the Sacrament of Christ's Body, quite apart from the question raised by a large number of those who do not daily partake of the Lord's Supper, as to why this bread is called daily: and without taking into account their defense based on ecclesiastical au-

(1)*P.L.* xl. 699. In his 98th Epistle c. 9, he expressly states that the Holy Sacrifice was daily offered for the people.

thority, in that they act without scandal, and being neither forbidden to act nor condemned by that same authority for not complying; we can show that this cannot be understood in those regions as daily bread, for they would be guilty of the gravest crime were they not to communicate daily. But leaving them out of account, it will certainly occur to the thoughtful, that Christ has given us a command for prayer which is not to be transgressed either by excess or default."(1)

In this involved and somewhat rhetorical extract we see that St. Augustine rejects an interpretation of "Daily Bread," which would convict the Greeks of being unmindful of the precept of Christ. For, he says in effect, it has never been the custom in the East to communicate daily, and therefore the fourth petition cannot refer to the Holy Eucharist. What their practice was is explained by St. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, in A. D. 372.

"To participate daily in Christ's Body is laudable and salutary, for has not Christ said, "He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood abideth in Me and I in him." . . . We receive the Holy Sacrament four times a week, on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and on other days when some feast of our Lord or His saints is commemorated."(2)

From the words of St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, written within a few years of St. Basil's death, we learn something of the relation between Mass and Holy Communion:

"Oh, the force of custom and of prejudice! In vain is the daily Sacrifice, in vain do we stand before the altar, and there is no one to partake. These things I

(1) *Sermon on Mount*, P. L. xxxiv. 1280.

(2) *P.G.* xxxii. 483.

say to you, not to induce you to partake anyhow, but that you should render yourselves worthy to partake.(1)

"You determine the worthiness of your approach, not by the purity of your mind, but by the interval of time. You think it proper caution not to communicate often, not considering that you are seared by not partaking worthily; for to receive worthily, if it be but once, is salutary. . . . On the Preparation (Friday), on the Sabbath and the Lord's day, and on the day of martyrs, it is the same Sacrifice that is offered."(2)

Daily Mass was clearly the rule, but if Communion was only to be received on the above-mentioned days, why does the Saint complain of those who do not communicate in the earlier part of the week? We must either suppose that the second extract is an oratorical statement, that all Masses are intrinsically the same, or else that Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, together with the feasts of martyrs, were days of special solemnity when the faithful would communicate as a body, and that on other days it remained a matter of private devotion. This latter hypothesis is substantiated in a subsequent panegyric,(3) where he says, "He who is conscious of no sin ought to receive daily;" and it is in accord with the words already quoted from St. Augustine.

The same practice of receiving on specified days in the week appears to have prevailed at Alexandria, for St. Anastasius complains in A. D. 356 to the Emperor Constantius, of soldiers who had burst into the church "while we were engaged in our usual services, as those who entered in witnessed, for it was a vigil preparatory

(1) *3d Homily on Ephesians*, P. G. lxii. 29.

(2) *5th Homily on 1 Timothy*.

(3) *De Philogonio*, P.G. xlviii. 753.

to a Communion on the morrow.”(1) Socrates the historian(2) records that Sunday was the only Communion day, but that prayer meetings were held on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. He also states that in the Thebiad Saturday evening and Sunday were the days for communicating.

As regards the usage in Saxon England, we have only the letter of Venerable Bede written in A. D. 740 to Egbert, Archbishop of York, in which he exhorts him to insist on so wholesome a practice, which is common to Gaul, Africa, Greece, and the East generally. He attributes the lack of it to defective instruction, appealing to the Prelate's own experience in Rome, where numbers of men, women and children communicated on Sunday and feasts of Apostles and Martyrs.(3) Reverting once more to Gaul, we find St. Elidius of Noyon incidentally stating that “one man out of reverence does not dare to receive daily, another with equal devotion will not let a single day pass without reception.”(4) And, to quote another testimony from Gaul, Gennadius of Marseilles(5) in the middle of the fifth century, writes:

“I neither command nor prohibit the practice of daily Communion; but I exhort all who are in a right mind to communicate every Sunday.”

(1)*Apol. ad Const.*, P.G. xxv. 626.

(2)*H.E. v. 22*. Origen adds that not only the priests, but all the faithful who were present, received whenever Mass was celebrated.

(3)*P.L.* xciv. 666.

(4)Quoted by Bona, iii. 365.

(5)C. H. Turner thinks it may be Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 458—471), whose tract was translated perhaps by Gennadius of Marseilles. (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* Oct. 1905.

Finally, there is the authority of Cardinal Humbert, whatever may be its worth, that Mass was not said daily in Jerusalem, but that each morning Communion was distributed to the faithful from the reserved particles. After the sixth century it would be hard to say that daily Communion was a characteristic note of any Church. Witness St. Isidore of Seville (A. D. 636).

"Some say that the Eucharist ought to be received daily unless there be some grave sin . . . but if there be no such as to deserve excommunication, no one ought to be deprived of his medicine of Christ's Body." (1)

Rabaldus Maurus (A. D. 847), a disciple of our English Alcuin and Abbot of Fulda, in modern Prussia, speaks in the same tentative way. "Some say that unless there is grave sin, the Eucharist ought to be received daily." (2)

Already daily Communion was showing signs of decay in some parts of the Church; nevertheless, there were not wanting men who would go to the opposite extreme, and communicate at several successive Masses. Strabbo, who is our authority for this statement, does not presume to blame them, but declares that Leo III used sometimes to say Mass as often as seven times a day, "*Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet!*" (3)

The canons of Provincial Synods are full of advice and reproof concerning the frequentation of Communion. For instance, at the Council of Elvira in the fourth century we are told that those who did not communicate were not permitted to make their oblations to the Bishop at the Offertory. Were such a proviso made in a Synod of Westminster we fear that both Offertories and Com-

(1) *P.L.* lxxxiii. 756.

(2) *Instit. Clerc.* i. 21.

(3) *P.L.* cxiv. 940, 943.

munions would decrease to an alarming extent. So great is the change from the days of primitive simplicity when it was deemed an honor rather than an obligation to contribute to the support of the altar.

To exactly the same effect is the 10th Apostolic Canon on the fourth century, which runs as follows:

"All such of the faithful as come to church and hear the Scriptures read, but stay not for the prayers or partake of Holy Communion, ought to be suspended as authors of disorder in the church."

And the Council of Antioch enlarges on the same subject. But a purer note is struck in the Life of St. Melania towards the close of the same century.

"This [matron] never received corporal food, till she had first communicated of Christ's Body, for she considered it one of the greatest safeguards of the soul, although the custom of the Romans is to receive but once a day." (1)

But if the Church never insisted on daily Communion as a Divine precept the obligation of frequent reception was much more rigorous than it is to-day. We are told by Theodore of Canterbury in the seventh century that "The Greeks, clergy and laity, communicate every Sunday, but if they miss three successive days, they are excommunicated. . . . The Romans do similarly, but they are not excommunicated if they refrain."

As time went on there was further relaxation in the tenth century to the great feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, to which Maundy Thursday was added at Verona, and the Transfiguration in some parts of Spain. Finally the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) imposed the obligation of Paschal Communion on the whole

(1) *Analecta Bolland*, viii. 57.

Church, and no further deviation from this rule has been made.

Many interesting memorials remain of the manner in which the Holy Eucharist was administrated. After the singing of the *Sancta Sanctis*, corresponding to the *Domine, non sum dignus* of the Roman Missal, the faithful approached in a certain specified order, men before women, virgins before widows. Thus writes St. Cyril of Jerusalem in A. D. 350:

"When you approach do so not with wrists straight out and fingers spread, but making the left hand a throne for the right, as that which is to receive a king; hollow the palm, and on receiving Christ's Body reply 'Amen.' After then reverently gazing on It, partake of It with the greatest care lest any portion of It should fall aside and be lost. . . . Then after communicating of the Body, draw near to the cup of the Blood, not stretching forth thy hands, but bending reverently, say 'Amen,' and partake of the Blood of Christ. Then touching with thy hand the moisture remaining on thy lips, sanctify thine eyes and forehead and other organs of sense. Then while awaiting the prayer, give thanks unto God who has thought thee worthy of so great mysteries." (1)

A few words of commentary will help us to complete the picture. There was a strict rule in force in the West, though it was apparently unknown in the Oriental Church, that all women should use the *Dominicale* to cover the hand, but whether or not this was a portion of the head-dress or merely a white linen communion-cloth, is uncertain. St. Cyril bids the faithful communicate at once, but this was not always so, for in the days of persecution it was permissible to reserve the Host at home, a practice

(1) *Catech.* v. 20—22.

which was afterwards condemned as sacrilegious by the First Council of Toledo(1) about the year 400. Men were continually exhorted to approach the holy table with clean hands, as being the temple or throne of God, and the occasion is frequently taken of decrying murder and other crimes which defile the hand once sanctified. In illustration of a change of usage in this respect, the Council of Trullo in 681 forbade the faithful to bring gold pyxes for the reception of the Host—the hand made by God being thought more worthy than the workmanship of man. This custom of “manual communion” died very hard; by the seventh century an *Ordo Romanus* prohibited it even for the subdeacon of the Mass, and *a fortiori*, we may suppose, for the laity; and in 880 the Archbishop of Rouen made a similar ordinance for the clergy of his province.

With regard to the communion of the chalice mentioned by the Saint, the discipline has undergone considerable change. At first the deacon with the chalice followed the celebrant, later he administered a few drops through a reed or *fistula*, and lastly the Host was dipped in the Precious Blood and delivered in a spoon. The very beautiful custom of signing the forehead was, says Alcuin, usual after infant baptism in his day, and this reception had always to precede any other form of nourishment.

The *Communio* of the Roman Missal is the survival of certain psalms which once were sung while the faithful were being communicated, and the priest on his return from the rails recited the *Postcommunio*, in which, as now, he asked that those who had received might become partakers of the fruits of the Holy Sacrament. Indeed

(1) Can. 14. P.L. 130, 435.

the two prayers now said at the ablutions are in reality postcommunion prayers. *Quod ore sumpsimus* will be found assigned to the Friday after Passion Sunday; and the *Corpus tuum Domine* occurs in the *Missale Gothicum*, but curiously enough in the plural, a circumstance which seems to point to its application to the faithful generally who had communicated under both kinds:

"May the Body, O Lord, which we have received and the Chalice which we have drunk adhere to our members, and grant, O Lord, that there may remain no stain where Thy pure and Holy Sacrament has entered."(1)

Here is another in the form of a bidding prayer from another Mass in the same missal:

"Having eaten of the Bread of Life and drunk of the Cup of Salvation, let us give thanks to Almighty God, most dear brethren, that this gift and blessing which in His honor we have received, may preserve us without sully or stain. Through Jesus Christ our Lord."(2)

This argument from the liturgies is of course not conclusive; for the Collect may only refer to the sacred ministers who communicated with the celebrating priest or bishop, and still do in certain churches of Rome to-day; nevertheless they strikingly confirm the repeated statements of the Fathers that daily Communion was the practice of the primitive Church. May the ardent desire of the Holy Father bear fruit in our own day, and may he witness the revival of a practice which gave joy to the heart of St. Pius I amid the horrors of the Aurelian persecution.

EDWARD KING.

The Month.

(1) *Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church*, Neale and Forbes, p. 143.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 147.

**The French Associations of Worship
and Their Substitutes**



The French Associations of Worship and Their Substitutes



Ever since last Assumption Day, the name of His Holiness Pius X, now gloriously reigning, is upon every lip and upon every pen. Ministers in vacation, journalists, politicians, workmen, priests, and bishops are passionately discussing him.

Naturally, their words and writings run in two divergent currents, coming as they do from those who are opposed to and those who are in sympathy with him. They judge the Pope, sometimes with an impudent haughtiness; sometimes with a violence whose hatred takes no pains to conceal itself; sometimes with a grossness of the vilest description. No one is indifferent. They may call him "Sarto," or the "son of a peasant," or a "parvenu country priest," forgetting, curious democrats as they are, that the most marvellous democratic fact of our age is the elevation to the throne from which he blesses the world of the son of the working-man in the fields of Lombardy; and secondly, that he is one of those rare men whose merits place him so high that insult cannot reach him.

On the other hand are those who are in sympathy with him. It would be a miracle were they all to feel the same enthusiasm with regard to this recent act of the Pope. Differences of points of view could not fail to produce a difference of sentiment. Some hesitate and are reserved as to the opportuneness of the measures which Pius X has taken. They are afraid that the re-

sult may be evil. But I do not think that such men constitute the greatest number. The greatest number, if we may believe the public press, regard the Pope as having adopted the only line of conduct compatible with honor, with righteousness, and the lofty interests of which he is the guardian. All, however, priests as well as laymen, proclaim their submission to the Apostolic Decree. Never did such union and unanimity characterize the conduct of French Catholics. Among us at the present time, according to the beautiful expression of the Pope, there are no longer conquerors and conquered, there are only the faithful.

No one is ignorant of the occasion of this public feeling. On the 10th of August, on the Feast of St. Lawrence, the great Deacon Martyr, Pius X issued his Encyclical letter with regard to the affairs of the Church in France. It was not written with the pen of a warrior; it did not thunder; it did not storm. It did not fling out lightnings or anathemas. Its genuine and sincere eloquence are, on the contrary, quite restrained. It is not the cry of a warrior who desires to communicate his power to his troops; it is the word of a father who feels deeply to what perils and what trials he is about to expose his children. He would desire, because of his tenderness for them, to spare them that suffering. For this purpose he has reflected, as he says himself, for a long time; he has reflected so far as even to try the patience of some he has consulted; he has invoked, with the most ardent supplication, illumination from the God of light; he has weighed in anguish the grave complications which menace the Church in France. But the numberless services rendered to the Church by France have made these sufferings a burden that he willingly accepts.

He would have ardently desired as the result of his reflections, of his prayers, and of the struggle between his paternal heart and his conscience as a Pontiff, to be able to leave us free to avail ourselves of the meagre and doubtful advantage proposed to us by the Law of Separation. He would have done so if he could without infringing upon the rights of God. But it was impossible. He would have had to betray the holiness of his office and destroy the Church of France. And thus, not with a light heart; not through animosity; not for political purposes, but compelled by the perfect knowledge of his obligations, and the dictates of duty, he could not prevent himself from renewing the condemnations already expressed by him on the Law of Separation. He has, therefore, *absolutely* rejected the Associations of Worship such as the Law of Separation conceives them, and, *conditionally*, those associations which are called canonical and legal.

With regard to the Associations of Worship, he says: "We declare absolutely that they cannot be established such as the law imposes them upon us. With regard to the associations which are called legal and canonical, we declare that it is not permitted to attempt them as long as it is not determined in a legal and certain fashion that the Divine Constitution of the Church, the unassailable rights of the Roman Pontiff and of the bishops, their power over the property which is necessary for the Church and especially their control of the sacred edifices, are established irrevocably and in absolute security."

Thus we have the double fact which gives so much solicitude to the Pope and has caused such commotion in free thinking, indifferent, and Catholic France.

Let us examine, therefore, with prudence and respect the *possible* reasons,—I do not say even the *probable* reasons,—which have determined the Apostolic See to adopt this course. We shall do so by considering, first, the Associations of Worship, which the law imposes upon us; and, secondly, those canonical and legal associations, conceived by theologians, or others. However, even if we were reduced to find no other appreciable motive than that of obedience, we should not allow ourselves for that reason to be troubled. The Catholic Church is a notable school of obedience. We obey in the midst of darkness and not in the fulness of light. We repeat, without hesitation, the axiom which antiquity has handed down to us; the axiom which renders our security perfect: “Rome has spoken: the case is ended.” Nevertheless in all I have to say I would like to make it clear, though it is hardly necessary, that I am speaking in my individual capacity. I am only a commentator explaining the text which I revere. I have, of course, an official position, but I declare that I have no mission from any one to undertake this task. With this reservation, I shall endeavor to express my thought. Perhaps it will be helpful to some men of good will. It will be a pleasure to think so. With this prelude I begin.

I. THE ASSOCIATIONS OF WORSHIP SUCH AS THE LAW SUPPOSES THEM.

Pius X has condemned absolutely the Associations of Worship such as the law supposes them. Why? Because the promulgation of that law is a violation of one of our fundamental principles. Here, in brief, is how the Church regards itself. It knows that it is a society

founded, organized and commissioned by Jesus Christ, the Man-God. From Him it derives its beginning, its hierarchy, its laws and its mission. None of the powers of the Church, which are proper and essential to it, come from any earthly authority. The Pope, successor of Peter, has been created its supreme chief by the Man-God; and he holds from the Man-God his rights and his duties. The bishops, successors of the Apostles, are the chiefs subordinated by the Man-God to the Pope, and they hold from the Man-God their rights and their duties. The Christian people are the object of the solicitude of the Pope and of the bishops who are truly established for that end by the Man-God, and it receives its rights and its duties from the Man-God. The Church, with its Supreme Chief and its subordinate chiefs and its people, whose evangelization is the immediate object of the hierarchy, has been made by the Man-God a complete society. It regards itself as such and cannot regard itself otherwise.

Now, the first attribute of every complete society is, that no one can prescribe for it without consulting it. Every complete society which has a sovereign chief, no matter whether it is feeble or powerful, must be treated as autonomous, be it the Republic of San Marino, which could be held in the hollow of a child's hand, or the American Republic, which covers the earth and the oceans; be it little Norway or immense Germany, you cannot prescribe for it without consulting it. The Church has never taken, could never take, and will never take, any other attitude. One thing or the other, either it will renounce its autonomy, deny its Sovereign, reject its constitution, or it will declare that it can not be prescribed for without being consulted. If it is independent,

as happens in the case of the United States, you will not make a concordat with it unless it consents. If it be a state that has made a concordat, as Austria, you will not change that condition without its consent. Every statute which laymen attempt to impose on the Church without its consent, it regards as a civil constitution, and its entire history is tumultuous with the struggle against these civil constitutions.

We here approach one of the characteristic differences between heretical churches and ours. Heretical churches recognize lay sovereigns as heads. The King of England is the head of the Established Church; the Emperor of Russia is the head of the Orthodox Church; Emperor William is the head of the Evangelical Church. And it is perfectly logical that the constitutions of these heretical churches can be changed by the lay power alone, because the lay power is the sovereign. But, just as it is logical for these heretical churches to do so, it would be illogical for the Catholic Church to do so. "Protestantism," said Liebknecht, "has always degraded itself from the time of Luther to our days by making itself the servant of the temporal power; the Catholic Church has never done so." Would Liebknecht have been less severe if he had understood the whole question to the very bottom? The constitution of the Protestant Church and that of the Catholic Church are in absolute opposition to each other. As far as I am concerned, I would not utter a word of reproach against Protestants for making use of the Law of Separation. In its affirmation of the supremacy of the State over their synods, the law is admirably adapted to them and they might well reproach Catholics for submitting to it and sharing in its benefits. As it stands, its negation of the rights of

the Pontiff makes it a terrible instrument for our destruction, and for that reason, one of the most distinguished Protestant jurist-consults said: "If you accept the law as it is, come with us." And, for the same reason, the Minister of the Interior frankly recognizes that the principle of the law is anti-Catholic. It may be urged that the constitution of the Catholic Church is not compliant, while that of the Anglican, Orthodox and Protestant is more easy to deal with. I agree. But I will add, we are made that way and no one will make us otherwise; and, after weighing the whole matter, and with history before us, we declare we are made that way for the confusion of despotism and the emancipation of the human conscience. Statesmen who undertake to treat with the Catholic Church cannot afford to ignore these facts. Whatever may be their personal convictions, they are compelled to accept them out of respect for the consciences of millions of their fellow countrymen, and out of regard for public peace. Mark this: You have made a Law of Separation which is good for Protestants; how can you imagine that it is going to be good for us, when you are confronted with the fact that the principles of Protestantism and those of Catholicism are contradictory? Did not Napoleon make his two organic statutes, one of them for Catholics and the other for Protestants? Every jurist knows that. And now you come and attempt to govern Catholics and Protestants by the same law; a law altogether in favor of Protestants and altogether against Catholics. I am not jealous of the liberty of Protestants; I desire that there shall be no oppression of conscience; but I demand the liberty which they enjoy for my co-religionists and myself, and I shall be happy if our conscientious scruples

are not made to suffer more than those of our Protestant fellow citizens. The law is not against them. Why should it be against us? And let it be remembered that the moment is very critical for us; for there is no question now of loss of our ancient supremacy, but a question of how to avoid self destruction.

Here a difficulty presents itself; one which is somewhat peculiar, but which is grave; which the Holy Father himself intimates will be urged against us; and which we, as shepherds of the people, have to answer. Our enemies are very busy just now, thrusting it in our faces. It is this. Why does not the Pope tolerate in France what he tolerates in Prussia? Is he not prompted by hatred of the Republic? To this we answer: That kind of accusation is an old one. As far back as 1883 M. de Schloeser was the victim of a like impression. "If the Pope," said he to the Secretary of State, Cardinal Jacobini, "continues to act rigorously in Germany, while submitting to the insults which France casts upon him, it will not be difficult for us to see in this attitude a proof of papal malevolence with regard to Berlin." Now the position is changed though the charge is the same. Formerly, Germany was complaining; to-day it is France. The conditions, however, are identical. Leo XIII did not like the government of Berlin because it was monarchical; Pius X does not like the government of France because it is republican. But one must be extremely ignorant or be guilty of bad faith if he finds any resemblance between the Association of Worship in Germany and those of France.

1. The German association is composed of many persons, over whom, in the first place and by right, the parish priest presides.

2. The bishop has the right to convoke the association whenever he judges fit.

3. When the parishes are too small the bishop can decide that there will be no parochial association.

4. When the associations neglect or refuse obstinately to do their duty, the bishop can dissolve them.

5. The bishop has the right to communicate his views to the parochial associations on the conduct of their business.

6. The parochial associations (and this is particularly noteworthy) are so devised as to be able to receive and expend money for benevolent and educational work.

7. The bishop can dismiss every member of the association whom he judges to have been faithless in the discharge of his duty.

8. The bishop exercises the right of surveillance and of approval over the greatest number of the administrative acts of the associations. Minor matters he leaves to others.

9. If this point of view was not altogether secondary in this discussion; if the Pope, in making no reference in his two Letters to the question of money, had not manifested that there was question between the French Parliament and himself, not of money but of principle, I would add, the priests who are employed by these German associations have an average salary of at least 2,500 francs.

10. The bishops have a salary which exceeds 30,000 francs.

The members of the French Associations can be designated by the curé.

The number cannot be less than 7 anywhere.

In parishes of 1,000 they must be 15.

In parishes of 2,000 they must be 25, and they must be residents of the locality.

Their accounts are inspected yearly by the State.

If there are among those administrators any living in foreign countries they can be dissolved.

I now ask what resemblance is there between the Law of our French Associations of Worship, which is as mute as death about bishops and priests, which is a plunderer of charitable, educational, and ecclesiastical funds, and the Law of the Prussian Associations of Worship? The German parish priests have in their associations the position which the Catholic Church demands, and they are there by right. The German bishops occupy the same position. They convoke, they counsel, they revoke, they watch over the parochial assemblies and they dismiss unworthy members. No doubt they are somewhat annoyed at times by appeals which, in certain foreseen cases, may be made to the head of a province or by arrangements which have to be made with that official; but that is an exception. I am almost tempted, although my authority does not count for much, to risk this suggestion: Let them give us the German associations and we will arrange things with the Pope.

II. THE CANONICAL AND LEGAL ASSOCIATIONS, AS CERTAIN THEOLOGIANS AND SOME OF THE FAITHFUL CONCEIVE THEM.

The radical vice of the Law of Separation, as we have shown, cannot escape the notice of the theologian of even the most limited experience. Destructive of the autonomy of the Church and, as a consequence, of the spiritual sovereignty of the Pope, of the hierarchy and of the constitution of the Church, it has to be rejected. Pre-

cisely, on that account (and it is well to keep this in mind because of the flippant and insulting polemics on this question, now going on), there is among the clergy considerable astonishment, to say the least, that the Pope, in condemning the Associations of Worship such as the law supposes them to be, asserts that he confirmed the decision of the French episcopate, which he declared to be only *morally* unanimous.

What is moral unanimity? What does it mean? It means that there were one or two votes, or something like that, short of absolute unanimity. But why was there not absolute unanimity? The wonder has not yet ceased, especially as the refusal to profit by the Law of Separation has aggravated the difficulties, which were serious enough already. The reason is that after making sure that the Pope, whose goodness would welcome every feasible solution compatible with honor and justice, would not be offended, as his kindly prudence had asked for every possible information and every respectful view, many began to look for a method which would avoid these complications, without, however, submitting to or accepting a law which was schismatical in its intent. We repeat, that those who worked with fervor at this plan, did not in any shape or form wish either to accept or submit to the law such as it is. Not one of them desired it. They knew and proclaimed that it could not be either accepted or submitted to. We cannot insist too much on this fact, even at the risk of appearing to say too much, because it has been distorted, misunderstood and misinterpreted by a press which is absolutely ignorant of our affairs and our doctrines. Our moral unanimity, as Catholic theologians, was perfect, it was splendid, and we must force this idea into the minds of the people.

And it was in such dispositions of mind that the framers of the Canonical and Legal Associations set to work. At first they laid down for themselves three rules:

Rule 1. Their statutes would not be in contradiction with the Law of Separation.

Rule 2. They would not be in contradiction with ecclesiastical law.

Rule 3. The Pope himself would have to impose upon Catholics the regulations which they should make.

At first sight this design may seem subtle and complex. Its subtlety and its complexity, if it be such, prove at one and the same time the desire of conciliation on the part of those who were engaged upon this plan and their dislike of the Law. They did not want its sanction, but that of the Sovereign Pontiff. This universal repugnance to the Law of Separation is at the bottom of all that was done, even of the efforts at conciliation.

Guided by these rules, they were confronted with this difficulty, namely: the text of the Law of 1905 assigns no place for the bishops and parish priests in the organization of these associations. Luckily, there was Article IV. This article seemed to give them an opportunity. I quote it at length, so important is it for the subject which now occupies us. "Within a year from the promulgation of the present law, the movable property and real estate of the vestry associations, presbytery councils, consistories and other public establishments of worship, will be, with all the charges and obligations which are incumbent upon them, and with the special purpose for which they are designed, transferred by the legal representatives of these establishments to the associations which, in conformity to the rules of the General Organization of Worship, whose exercise they propose to assure,

will be legally formed, in pursuance of the prescription of Article XIX for the exercise of worship in the former locality."

This clause was like a plank over the abyss, a wicker basket to let them down to safety. In effect, since associations may be established in conformity with the general rules of worship, we propose, said these bishops, to organize associations on an absolutely Catholic basis. Not only will our statutes name the bishop and the curés, but will consider them as a large part of those societies; and it was pointed out that the members of the associations would be recruited by the curés and accepted by the bishops before entering into office, who should be honorary presidents of all diocesan associations, and might, when he judged fit, preside in person or by representative. They decreed that the members required for these associations should be designated by the bishop; that without this designation or approbation no association could enter into relation with the curé. They decreed that the bishop should approve the accounts of the associations and revise their budgets, where the outlays should be officially crossed off or inscribed. Of course there were many other things which they determined. They admitted that these conditions represented only the minimum of what was needed. But this minimum appeared to satisfy the first two rules which they had laid down for themselves, namely, that it was legal and canonical.

The question now comes, Was it legal? and was it canonical? We propose to show that at least there is room for doubt. On that point the framers of these associations were not under any illusion.

"But," said they, "suppose the minimum we ask is

not altogether legal, there is this remedy, that the civil power might shut its eyes. Who knows if it would not be rather pleased to practice this momentary blindness? There would be so much gained. Suppose, moreover, that this minimum was not altogether canonical, there was this remedy, namely, to have the statutes imposed not by the authority of the French Legislature, but by that of the Pope. If indeed the Pope imposed them it was evident that canonical or not in their institution, they became canonical by their promulgation." They turned, therefore, towards Rome. His Holiness had promised in his Encyclical to give practical instructions about the manner of proceedings; might he not deign when these schemes were published to make them entirely his own? Might he not deign to propose and impose them? Thus the Church of France would henceforward live under his guidance and not under a law which is, in principle, schismatical. But when sanctioned by the Apostolic Authority (for the Holy Father might neglect the Law of Separation and not even pronounce its name), the statute of the association would be a canonical statute in the same way as every decree which emanates directly from him. As true disciples of Jesus Christ they protested, however, that whatever the Pontiff's decision might be they submitted in advance.

The lay world is concerned with associations no less than the ecclesiastical world, but as we know, its method for the establishment of such bodies is more simple, more obvious, than that which the Church follows. In the present instance the people would say, those who are qualified would draw up these legal and canonical statutes, then they would ask the Pope to let them pass for the greater good of the Christian people. The asso-

sociations whose plan I have just sketched would be adopted somewhat in that fashion.

Now, such associations could not be canonical, properly speaking, because the sole authority capable of making them canonical, namely, the Pope, had not established them. But it was proposed to make use of them as if they had been canonical, because the Pope had tolerated them. Now in the assemblies of the bishops in May and June, was there or was there not question of any such arrangements? I have no right to answer. But there was question before and there was question after the council, consequently I have a right to speak.

Are these two types of associations, and all analogous types, what the Pope calls in his Encyclical "canonical and legal associations?" Yes. Now, this kind of association he condemns *conditionally*. "It is not permitted," said he, "to attempt that kind of association as long as it is not determined in a legal and certain fashion that the Divine Constitution of the Church, the unassailable rights of the Roman Pontiff and of the bishops, their power over the property which is necessary for the Church, and especially their control of the sacred edifices, will be established irrevocably and in absolute security in the aforesaid associations." Here we find the profound difference between the Associations of Worship such as the Law supposes, and the associations which theologians or the faithful may form. The first are condemned without appeal. The second can be realized under determined and specified conditions. But lacking these conditions they cannot be realized.

Now, is it possible to conclude that these requirements of His Holiness Pius the X are exaggerated? I cannot think so. For himself, individually, he asks noth-

ing. Perhaps he is not undeserving of praise for that. For, after all, what insult has he been spared? In the French Tribune, in the Parliament which promulgated the Law of 1905, he was flouted and calumniated at pleasure. They accused him of insulting the President of the French Republic. They made an improper use of his diplomatic notes. They turned them into travesties. They demanded brutally the recall of the ambassador who was accredited to the Holy See. They tore up the treaty signed by the Apostolic See, without even deigning to notify him. They pretended that he was the first to violate the contract, and nothing less than the authoritative voice of M. Ribot was required to declare that in future times that would be designated as "an historic lie." Only that could bring something like shame to these public men who resorted to these infamous proceedings. The journals in the pay of the government have, as it were, dragged him and his councillors on the hurdle to the gallows. The ministers of yesterday and those of to-day make no scruple of flinging back at him, with all the miserable witticism of which they are capable, the accusation that his words are falsehoods. These marvellous personages even give him lessons in ecclesiastical law! The odious and the grotesque are leagued against the august and venerable representative of that dynasty which has presided over Christianity for twenty centuries; against the man whom the sovereigns of the world honor with filial submission and respect; and there has raged against the Pope from the President of the Council of Ministers down to the meanest of his petty clerks, an orgy which never wearies of heaping on him outrages which language fails to qualify.

But the Pope forgets it all. Mercifully he pardons them. At the most he alludes to it. He has stood in-judice upon injustice out of love for this dear French nation. But if he exacts no reparation for himself, he does not propose to pledge his Apostolic Authority, and with it the Church of France, without being sure of what he does. Has he done too much? No; what he did was unavoidable.

Of what was there question? There was question of imposing or tolerating the associations of theologians and the faithful. But if, perchance, these associations called canonical and legal were only incompletely canonical, and if they were only very doubtfully legal, how could the Pope accept them? To declare that he imposed or tolerated associations which were imperfect canonically would be difficult; to declare that he imposed or tolerated associations which were doubtful legally would be foolish. In the first place, what would his conscience say? In the second case, what would the civil power say? It is proper, therefore, for us to show that the associations proposed by the theologians and the faithful are not canonical. A cursory glance at some chapters of Canon Law will be sufficient to show that such schemes would require absolution upon absolution for what they omit to say. It would be like absolving deaf-mutes.

To explain this, let us go back to the legislation which they proposed to replace. It is a legislation which is nearly altogether Napoleonic. Napoleon had no weakness for the independence of the Church; the prerogative of the State was what he was looking for; but he had intelligent officials; Portalis and his associates. They wanted to bridle the Church, not to break it; to give it

the least possible; to grant what was indispensable. That was their inflexible policy. But in three documents, two of which at least are directed against the Church, viz: the Organic Articles, the Decree of 1809, and the Concordat, much more is granted to the Church than these canonical and legal associations demand. Now, as it is admitted that these old laws granted to the Church only what was canonically indispensable, it follows that the new canonical, legal associations do not assure it what is indispensable. The three documents granted in the first place all that the compilers of this law accord to the curés or to the bishops in their associations, either in their constitution or in its operation. But see how many concessions accorded by Napoleon these associations have sacrificed. (1)

To begin with, Bonaparte knew that the Church had always claimed, from the time of Peter and the Apostles down to our days, the inherent right of holding possessions in favor of the poor. These possessions were accorded to it. But the statutes of these associations make no such claim; the reason being, it would bring them into conflict with the Law of Separation.

The Church cannot admit that the temples consecrated to Jesus Christ should be exposed to descend to common use. Now, Bonaparte had transferred to the control of the bishops the churches which had passed through the revolutionary period, and we understand what that word signifies, "Placed at the disposal of the bishops." Those which were constructed since that time were to be irre-

(1) A single detail, insignificant in itself, distinguishes these associations from those that Napoleon established. In the first, the bishop accepts all the members of the association; in the second, he accepts only the majority.

vocably devoted to religious worship. But the statutes of the associations are mute on this point, so as not to come into conflict with the Law of Separation.

The Church has temporal needs like every human society. Bonaparte recognized them, and reserving only a quasi-supervision by his Council of State, he did not limit the amount of property that might be accumulated other than real estate. The Law of Separation limits it exceedingly, and the statutes of these associations make no provision against this damage inflicted on the Church.

The Church cannot spontaneously renounce the right of what might be called "policing" the sacred edifices. Respect for the holy places and for the sacred vessels, and the care of the Blessed Sacrament, impose obligations on it which cannot be satisfied unless the clergy is in complete control of the churches. Bonaparte knew that and he left the curés in charge. The statutes of these associations do not claim that right; in fact, the Law of Separation forbids it.

Again, the Church asking nothing more of the State and receiving nothing more from it, ought to have, it would seem, the right to direct itself as it judges best, provided it does not disturb the public peace. There was a divorce between the Church and the State, and each one resumed its freedom. Such is the normal constitution of the Church in countries where there is no concordat, but the statutes of these associations do not assure us this independence. The Law of Separation is against it. Even if separated, the Church, according to them, ought to remain under the surveillance of the State as much as when it was not separated. This is a legal absurdity against which the statutes of these associations do not provide.

Finally, the Church has never admitted that civil tribunals could know or judge its doctrine. Now, Article VIII of the Law declares that in the case of several associations claiming the property of the Church, the disputes would be determined by the Council of State, which will pronounce sentence "in accordance with the actual circumstances." Now, what are "these actual circumstances?" It is that only the Council of State, which is particularly stupid as a judge of doctrine, is to pronounce what is Catholicism, what is true Catholicism, and what is exact Catholicism. Now, even from that these associations do not preserve us, because the Law of Separation forbids them to do so.

On all these points, and there are many others, the statutes are incompletely canonical. The others we do not consider, because we have taken the formal resolution not to bring up sins of omission. But these sins of omission, the sins which the law engrafts upon them, like all sins, have their effects. One effect is this: to make us establish in a Church separated from the State; in a Church which has no concordat; in a Church which has, in theory, been freed, associations which would enjoy fewer faculties than the Church Associations of the Napoleonic régime when the concordat was made by which both parties were bound. Can we conceive a more astounding ecclesiastical paradox?

I know we have gained independence in the nomination of our priests and bishops and a right to free assembly, but since we are now only simply citizens they could not well refuse us what they grant every one else. It would be a fine thing for the State to take a hand in our nominations after crossing us off its rolls and recognizing us no longer. Can we attempt to justify by such

arguments the unjustifiable intrusion of the State in the domain of a Church from which it is separated and which it impudently declares to be free?

The question now arises whether these statutes which are scarcely canonical are at least certainly legal? Certainly legal? I wish they were, but to my mind they are certainly not.

As we have seen, by dint of reasoning on Article IV, and using one of the clauses as a major and drawing their conclusion, the framers of these statutes were of the opinion that they could *catholicize* these associations. "The possessions of parish associations," the clause says, "will be transferred to those associations which conform to the general rules of the worship whose exercise they propose to share." Now, they argue, Catholic organization requires that the curé and the bishop, in communion with the Pope, should enjoy special rights in the foundation and the direction and the official government of the association; that they should admit members, audit the accounts, fix the budgets, etc.; therefore, our scheme accords to such associations these rights.

This deduction seemed to them as clear as crystal. But their conclusion was wider than their premises. The Roman jurists who governed the world for many centuries would rub their eyes at such conclusion.

It is true indeed that Article IV, treating of the devolution of property to be made by the old associations to the new, says implicitly that the old associations cannot transfer their property except to associations recognized by the bishop. Such is the expression which M. Briand, the Reporter of the Law, made use of in the course of the debate. It says also that if an association is designated by the council of the old Church association and

accepted by the bishop as fulfilling the general conditions, and if the bishop refuses his consent to another association, the tribunal could not take the property from the first association which is recognized by the Episcopal authority and give it to the second. The court has no right to do that. Such are the precise words of our parliamentarians, M. Briand and M. Ribot; and the Minister Bien-venu Martin acquiesced. But although this phrase of Article IV orders the devolution of property to associations which have been accepted and recognized by the bishops and them alone, does it follow that it exacts or *simply permits* the bishop to exercise in these associations of worship all the prerogatives conferred on him by the statutes? Does Article IV confine itself to giving the right to the bishop to accept these associations, to recognize them, which is the only thing that the sole authorized commentators, Briand, Ribot and Bien-venu Martin, had in view? Or does it besides that, even implicitly, give to the bishop the right to regulate and control these associations? I wish that the second hypothesis were true. But is it certain that it is true? Is it not doubtful? Is it not more than doubtful? Nevertheless, even if it were true, the statutes would be illegal.

A second observation. Would a deduction drawn from a part of a phrase which is of doubtful meaning, prevail against a text which is clear? Would not the right of the bishop to be represented in the assemblies of these associations be directly in contradiction with Article XIX of the Law of Separation? (1)

(1) This article submits the case of the finances and the legal administration of property to the control and approbation of the General Assembly.

A third observation. In giving to the bishop the right to audit the accounts and to officially put himself on or off the budget, would he not be acting against Article XXI of the Law of 1905? (1)

Would he not, above all, be going against the whole Law of 1901 on the contract of associations? a law which, beginning with Article V, controls our associations of worship concurrently with the Law of 1905. But are not associations independent in virtue of the Law of 1901? Is it not their prerogative and a part of their organic constitution? Does their constitution permit that their accounts and their budgets should be verified and modified by persons who do not belong to the associations?

A fourth observation. They were thinking of asking the Pope to impose these associations in virtue of his Apostolic Authority. No doubt this recognition of the spiritual power is very grand and very Catholic in its character, and it was quite easy for a bishop to approve of it; but do they reflect on Article XII of the Law of 1901? (2)

Are they sure of the interpretation which the magistrates would give to it? How many uncertainties in all this! How many obscurities!

And yet, the consequence of an error about the legal standing of such associations would be very serious. Here would be the consequence if we were to form these associations. We would have to submit our statutes to

(1) This Article subjects the finances of the association to the control of the Bureau of Registry.

(2) Associations having foreign administrators can be dissolved by the decree of the President of the Republic in a council of ministers.

the prefects of the departments; in accordance with the Law of 1901 the prefects would have given us an acknowledgment; the old associations would have then begun to transmit their property to the new associations. No body would be in a hurry to object. I admit that nothing could oblige them to. Then, after this devolution has been concluded under Sarrien or some other Minister (for a contest may be begun at any time until prescription has assured possession), the Procurators, egged on by the Guardian of the Seals, after all the delays of devolution and acceptance had been exhausted, would begin a suit against these associations as illegal.

If the issue of the process is against us, the property handed over by the old associations to the new would be transferred in consequence of the decree to the State or Commune. We would have been despoiled judicially by a decree in proper form, instead of violently and by an act of spoliation. No lawyer would contradict me in this, and no lawyer could.

When we understand the whole purport of the Law of 1905 and of twenty others, we cannot help believing that it was long and carefully prepared. It is not the work of M. Briand. M. Briand presented it, but he did not frame it. Briand is an eloquent speaker, a socialist and a professional politician. It is not people of that stamp, who by their absorption in extraneous matters and their peculiar bent have no ability whatever to frame laws like this. This Law was elaborated by a cunning legal trickster. It is a Law carefully set with traps for the unwary. We have just described one of them.

I know I shall be told we may gain our case. Our associations may be declared legal. But that is not likely. The Law has been devised to strangle us, and to do

it effectually. It is more than likely that its application will always be against us. In any case, here is what it implies: it asks the Pope either to tolerate or to impose statutes of associations which are wretchedly, if at all, canonical, and which no one can guarantee to be legal. It is equivalent to asking him to engage the Church of France in a venture whose issue might *not* be, but assuredly *might* be, the spoliation of the Church of France, by authority of the courts. It asks the Pope to play this game and to accept the responsibility; for, whether he wished or did not wish it, if he tolerated or imposed these associations he would assume all the responsibility, whereas, on the other hand, by not mixing in the business at all, and by not dragging us into it by his authority, he leaves the burden and the execution of this miserable design, now and for the future, on the shoulders of those who ought to bear it.

Do we grasp this fact, that in all this doubt, in all this uncertainty, about the meaning and interpretation of the legislation which has been systematically muddled; in this separation which has only the appearance of a separation, but which has all the actualities of oppression, that the Pope has simply recoiled and asked for more light.

I think it is in the genius of Pius X to seek for light, and I believe no less that the exigences of the present situation demand it. Could we comprehend that he would start at our head upon that dark pathway, without waiting for a ray of sunlight, no matter how feeble, before he proceeded? Would it be comprehensible that he would set his feet upon that road, at the head of a line of bishops, priests and faithful, carrying in their hands the present and the future of the Church of

France, without requiring that the pitfalls which beset the route and fill it with peril should be avoided? Is it not clear, to speak without metaphor, that he should demand guarantees? Would it be comprehensible for him not to demand them?

The Pope has not absolutely condemned the associations which he was asked to impose or tolerate. He has shown that good will which M. Aymard asked for. He has not wished to approve, when he could not clearly understand, the statutes which were incompletely canonical and probably illegal, because he did not wish to find himself, and us with him, halted by a hostile power. That was the part of wisdom. For his good will, and still more for his wisdom, we are grateful.

But how much light do we demnad? Whence is it to come? What guarantees have we to furnish? The answer is in this phrase of the Pope's Letter: "We declare that it is not permitted to attempt that kind of associations, as long as it will not be determined in a legal and certain fashion that the Divine Constitution of the Church and the indisputable rights of the Roman Pontiff and of the bishops, their power over the property which is necessary for the Church, and especially their control of the sacred edifices, will be established irrevocably and in absolute security."

After having reflected deeply on this passage, we are convinced that if the Pope receives the assurance which he needs on the legal character of these associations, he would have in consequence that satisfaction which he requests on many other points; we do not say upon all. Moreover, the sure means of knowing the thought of the Pontiff is not to look for it in the printed utterances of a bishop, but to get it from the Pope himself. M.

Ribot gave us good advice on that score. Old and solid Republican as he is, and not over-smitten with affection for Catholicism, I fancy, but yet very liberal and full of experience and wisdom, he says: "Go and have a conversation with the Pope." Spiritual Sovereign of the Catholic Church, it is he who holds the knot in his hands; you might wish it to be otherwise, but so it is.

I am not unaware that you fear an outcry about Canossa: "They are going to Canossa." It was there that in 1077 Henry IV of Germany, stood for three days in the snow imploring absolution from Gregory VII. Nonsense; no one dreams of sending you to Canossa like that. Harken to this: On the 28th of November, 1871, Bismarck promulgated his first law of the Kulturkampf. During eleven years he had carried on a persistent warfare with the Church with all the power at his disposal; that is to say, with an infinity of tricks, seductions, and violence which brought many a priest and many a bishop to prison or to exile. When Bismarck thought he had enough, did he fancy that he went to Canossa when he made de Schloeser his envoy to the Pope? Not at all; no more than he thought he was going there when he parleyed with the nuncios of Berlin and Vienna. It is not "going to Canossa" to understand the necessities of the situation; to do what is politically prudent; to buy at a price which has to be paid, peace of conscience for one's fellow citizens and internal peace for the country. As far as we are concerned, there is question of fulfilling our sacred duties and we are fulfilling them. The Pope indicates the road and we propose to take it. They will call us Romans; but we shall let them talk, knowing that to be Catholic we have to be subject to the Pope of Rome, knowing

also that to be subject to the Pope of Rome will not prevent us in the least from loving our country with all the powers of our soul, with all the love of our heart. In our obedience we shall meet, no doubt, with many a trial; we shall not be surprised; we expect it. Do you remember the words of Tertullian, *Vincit perferendo*, He conquers by bearing it to the end? The Christian triumphs by suffering. It is very old, that word; but, old as it is, it has not lost its actuality; in any case, we shall have the joy of not doing violence to ourselves in order to keep the attitude prescribed.

We can or we cannot make use of the Law of 1905. Our legislators have not ordered us to make use of it. Suppose that we do make use of it, it will be because it suits our good pleasure. Suppose we do not, we shall not then transgress it. The command of the Pope, which is very dear to us, seems to have been, "Be neither rebels nor dupes;" we never were rebels and we are not going to be dupes.

STANISLAUS,
Bishop of Orleans.

**The
Papal Document of August 10, 1906**



The Papal Document of August 10, 1906



THE separation of Church and State was decreed in France, December 9, 1905, as a last expedient in the war against Catholicism, and the men who advised and brought about the rupture meant it to be a death-blow to the Church in their country.

Now, although the motive of the law-makers is unmistakably clear, the text of the law itself is strangely obscure. It is a contradictory jumble of outrageously unjust measures with a few provisions which would seem to shield the remnants of religious liberty. It may be the act of enemies who are determined to satisfy their hatred without, however, sacrificing everything to it; who, although inclined to believe that Catholics always have too many rights, are sincere at least in the guarantees begrudgingly promised to religion. Or again, it may be the work of enemies hypocritical enough to use these guarantees as a decoy for the unsuspecting victim. The importance of not mistaking the character of the proceeding is further augmented by an irregularity of this law which exacts that, in order to obtain advantages, Catholics must adhere to the law by active co-operation, organize themselves, according to prescribed forms, into "associations of worship" and thus, in exchange for what they gain, subscribe, as it were, to the dispossession of which they have become the victims.

It is because thus called upon that they have paused before either consenting or refusing and, by the will of the legislator, have become judges of the law.

The attack upon religious society and liberty of conscience was so patent that, from the very time of its promulgation, the law was condemned in its principle by the Encyclical: *Vehementer nos*. To determine what course Catholics should pursue, it was necessary to study the text in detail, to probe its obscure depths, glean information, seek advice and weigh consequences. Naturally, the investigation required time and therefore, in his Encyclical protesting against the law, the Pope mentioned that the sending out of "practical instructions" would be deferred.

A close examination was certainly according to the nature of things; to some it seemed merely a diplomatic dodge, a means of softening the contradiction between the anathema that had just been declared upon the principles of the law and the adjustment which would be resorted to in case of necessity, as it would not be the first time that Rome, after protesting against legislation as hostile to absolute good, had resignedly submitted to it in order to prevent a worse evil. This, then, was the hope of those who wanted the law; good fellows, they accepted maledictions provided they could win obedience.

But Catholics were not so unanimous, and their diversity of opinion could be accounted for by the contradictions of the law. Some thought that such an aggression rendered all resistance perfectly legitimate, that France, warned at last by a direct attack upon its faith, should rise to defend it, and they commenced strenuously to oppose the taking of inventory, that first step by which the law was put into effect. Others expected naught

from disarmed opposition against the armed State. They feared that resistance instead of being popular would give the enemy a stronger hold upon the opinion gained from this argument: "The skeptical State, while respecting liberty, separated itself from Catholicism but left Catholics a right to public worship and temporal assistance for their priests. Catholics have refused to form the associations whereby these advantages would have been assured them, hence it is they themselves who are closing their churches, suppressing their worship, starving their priests, choosing to ruin their religion rather than respect civil power, always rebellious where they are not in authority." So as not to lose churches, freedom of worship and whatever of their daily bread the law was leaving the priests, these Catholics staked their hope on the possibility of forming associations of worship. Therefore, each party counted adherents equally faithful, equally courageous, equally illustrious in the Church, and all, in advising what they deemed best, were obeying the dictates of conscience. Their sincerity was looked upon as a victory by the originators of the law, to whom discord among Catholics meant a double gain, if this discord would but pave the way to schism. However, the Catholics who voiced conflicting opinions, as well as those who awaited in silence the looked-for instructions, were resolved to accept above all else the judgment of their supreme Head and this fidelity, of which they gave promise in advance, carried with it, even in the expression of their differences, the certainty of future harmony.

Disagreements existed among the clergy also and the Pope himself imposed upon them the obligation of presenting themselves when, at the end of May, 1906, he

convoked an assembly of bishops. These custodians of Catholic tradition, these doctors of religious science, found an antinomy between the associations of worship and the structure of the Church. The Church is a hierarchy of authority. In it the power is distributed proportionately to each one's share in the divine mission which he has received; this mission is conferred by the priesthood, the different degrees of which determine the rank of the clergy, the Papacy being its zenith and plenitude; and this priesthood is established to consecrate and propagate religious truth among men who receive and keep it through obedience. The assembly maintained the association of worship to be the introduction of democratic government into the religious world since it establishes laymen as the only representatives of worship before the State, forms these laymen into societies in which all are equal and, in the name of human reason, gives the power of decision to the majority. Undoubtedly, continued those assembled in council, these associations are created to gather in the property left to Catholics by the State, to assume charge of the churches, secure receipts, provide for expenses and exercise the government of temporalities, tasks at which laymen are surely apt. But, coupled with the exercise of these functions, is the permanent danger that laymen may encroach upon the rights of the priesthood. Not only would these associates be free to ignore the legitimate control which, by virtue of his vocation, the priest has over the use of goods destined for purposes of worship, but the material help which they would give the priests, would furnish them with a pretext for claiming a share in religious government, for constituting themselves the patrons or adversaries of certain devotions and doctrines, for

making things easy or difficult in proportion as they would find priests pliable or firm, for demanding the removal of some and the nomination of others, under pain of a religious strike, thus obliging the bishops themselves to introduce usurpation and anarchy into the Church. Such were the objections raised against associations of worship. Moreover, our episcopate felt even more than the laity the responsibility and anguish of interrupted worship and a clergy without resources. That is why many in the assembly would have wished to legitimize the use of associations by adding guarantees to them and by making them canonical, sacrifice neither hierarchy nor religion. But all the solutions examined by the assembly and submitted to the Holy See hung upon what would be the unquestioning choice of all: the Pope's decision.

Hence, the first result of the law made to "liberate laymen from the priestly, Roman yoke," was to show the unity of a Church in which the faithful would no more dream of separating from the priesthood than would the priesthood of separating from the Pope.

And the Pope has spoken. In his letter of August 10, 1906, he confirms the Encyclical, *Vehementer nos*, and refuses submission to a law whose principle he had already condemned. Undoubtedly the obedience of Catholics will be immediate and universal, but since, according to the Apostle, it should also be reasonable, it behooves us to examine what the Pope has desired, why he has desired it and the consequences to which his decision will lead.

Those whom this decision should least surprise are the originators of the law. If they sought to secure the Church's adherence to it, strange indeed were their meth-

ods! The governments even of non-Catholic nations understand the advantage of continued relations with the Head of a religion counting five hundred millions of faithful. Whatever they may think of Catholicism, they realize that politics is the art of being acquainted and keeping on good terms with great powers, and in Catholicism they respect the greatest of moral powers. No nation was more intimately united to the Papacy than France: the traditional and ever living power of the Christian faith in our country and the interest in sustaining our Catholic preponderance abroad, thanks to the support of the Holy See, were sufficient to make precious to any government worthy of the name, the maintenance of relations with the Holy See. These relations became all the more opportune when the Government sought to modify the condition of the Church in the State. An exchange of views upon such momentous matters was the surest, the only means of establishing a régime acceptable to both parties. But, at the very moment that the French State meditated separation it desired to sever relations with the Holy See. It were superfluous to recall the details of the rupture, as they have all been made public and suffice to prove that, to the neglect of our most manifest interests, French ministers joined the most unrestrained and unpardonable rudeness. By their proceedings they denied themselves all access to religious power, all means of sounding the Church, of ascertaining through negotiation what they might expect from her in the way of easy conciliation, and what must be conceded to her imperturbable faith. The bitterness of such insults would have inspired their victim with a desire to retaliate and thus avenge his

wounded dignity, if the sovereign in question had been any other than the Pope.

But the dignity of the Popes entails far more than is imposed by the dignity of kings. The sacrifices of the priesthood have taught them to consider their person of little consequence and the duties of the pontificate elevate them far beyond the reach of insult: their humility and zeal are proof against it. Their only concern is the care of souls and, whatever might have been the Government's proceedings, Pius X would not have revenged himself on the law had the law respected the Church. But it became evident that in regard to this law the Pope's intervention was not only useful but necessary, and that the work accomplished without consulting him bore the unmistakable imprint of usurpation.

Doubtless every nation is competent to decide upon its own affairs, but it is not equal to deciding unaided the affairs of another. The law suppresses a Concordat which had regulated the relations of Church and State by the consent of both powers, and had put an end to an immense property lawsuit. Under the old régime the Church owned great estates; the Revolution confiscated them in the name of public necessity, but not without acknowledging the claim of those whom it despoiled and, by way of indemnity, promising always to provide for the expense of worship. This promise being violated, holders of ecclesiastical property, and the State, which still retained a part, had no further title to it save that established by force, and the evidence of this iniquity served to diminish in a disastrous way the price of this property and the security of its possession. Through the Concordat the civil power obtained the Church's renunciation of the property which she sought to have restored

to her, by offering her the Budget of Worship as a perpetual indemnity. Hence, the law of 1906 has unscrupulously deprived Catholics of what justly belonged to them, and this it had no right to do without having agreed upon another indemnity with their chief Pastor, the Pope. If, for the breaking off of a friendship between two persons the consent of one alone may suffice, for the lessening or abolishment of a debt, the consent of the debtor only is not sufficient; that of the creditor is likewise necessary. In suppressing by his own authority only, the debt of France, the legislator of 1906 was guilty alike of usurpation and robbery. Now, what right has the Pope to hold these proceedings as legitimate? How could the guardian of private and public morality excuse such scandalous dishonesty? How could the Head of the priesthood be the silent witness of a theft by which priests of the present are deprived of the principal part of what is justly their due, and priests of the future are denied all assistance? How could the treasurer of the future who, at the cost of present trials must provide for the morrow, bequeath his capitulation as a patrimony?

This law, which ignores an indebtedness acknowledged by the most solemn engagements, fails also in its own promise to organize the separation between Church and State. There is but one fair way of determining the relations between these two powers when they part company, which is that each take back its liberty; that the State become a stranger to the Church, which is to say, that it be neither her protector nor her adversary, and that, instead of privileges mingled with subjection, the faithful have their share of all rights guaranteed to other citizens under the protection of the common law, practice

their religion as they see fit and that, whether this religion be prosperous or decadent, the State will not interfere either to reduce its vigor or to strengthen its weakness. But there is no such sense of justice in the restrictions imposed upon Catholics by the present law.

That it deprives them of their resources by confiscation is not enough; it regulates most minutely the organization of the Church to which it claims to be a stranger, and each of its prescriptions refuses Catholics the prerogatives offered citizens by the common law. Of all countries of the world France opposes the most invincible obstacles to the exaggerated power of associations. Since 1789 the State has lived in jealous dread of all collective forces, and the resources which Catholics would have acquired through the right to organize themselves and live, would have been a menace to no one. But the advantages of common legislation are denied Catholics by the law-maker of 1906. He creates for and imposes upon them alone a certain form of association; the State, although a *stranger* to the Church, makes its own choice of religious circumspection for it, although non-existent; it ignores the unity of which the Pope is the judge and acknowledges the diocese; it ignores the diocese of which the bishop is the head, and acknowledges the parish; in the parish it ignores the priest and acknowledges the laity; it regulates what number of the latter may band together, limits their right to annual shares and savings of which it determines the amount, prescribes the investment and designates the use, and it prohibits the faithful from forming with their own money and by voluntary contribution a fund for religious purposes.

Here, then, is what Catholics must submit to in order

that their churches and the old endowments made in favor of worship be put at their disposal. The unanimity of the State goes no further. All the liberal gifts made to the Church by our forefathers in the faith to be used for religious education and Christian charities, are held by the State and, contrary to the will of the donors, devoted to purposes of lay education and charity. And to what extent may we enjoy that of which we have not been despoiled? Even the churches, whose architecture renders them unfit for any but religious use, and, therefore, of no practical account to the State, cannot compensate us for all that is taken since the law stipulates that "these buildings shall remain the property of the State, the departments and the communes,"(1) that they are only placed at the disposal of the faithful, and that this "possession" shall end "if the association ceases to fulfill its object:"(2) a natural vigilance on the part of a government that would be impartial, a formidable precaution on the part of a hostile government which, claiming the right to pronounce "by decree"(3) upon the most indefinite of grievances, gives as sole security, its own good pleasure. The association thus dissolved, its ecclesiastical property will be seized anew and, although apparently returned to it, will, with the fund which it has accumulated for the exercise of worship, be distributed among "communal establishments of assistance and charity."(4) At the mere pleasure of the State this last treasure amassed by Christian faith will supply the needs of an anti-Christian philanthropy. Nor is this all: these funds are used for the

(1) Law of December 9, 1905, Art. 12.

(2) Art. 13.

(3) Art. 13.

(4) Art. 9.

support of a worship that directly antagonizes Catholicism, as happens when men who have broken with Catholic unity declare themselves members of an association of worship and, as such, claim the Church and parish revenues, choose a priest without the co-operation of the bishop and keep him despite the censures of Rome. There was nothing in the first text of the law to prevent all this. The protests of fair minds against this budget of schism, the outgrowth of either carelessness or cunning, were so manifestly just as to impose the addition of this formula: "The associations shall be legally formed in accordance with the rules of general organization of the religion of which they are to maintain the exercise." (1) And as the organization of the Catholic religion demands that the priest be under the authority of the bishop, who in turn is subject to the Pope, it was declared that schism and lack of discipline were impossible in associations of worship. But the free-thinkers, even more indignant than the Catholics, denounced this consecration of Roman autocracy by a French law, as intolerable slavery. They held as their dogma that the State should recognize only French citizens, take their word for their being Catholics, see in every association of worship a religious whole, and not be solicitous as to whether these associations agreed or disagreed one with another in matters of doctrine, even preferring an infinite diversity of sects as less dangerous to the State and more conformable to the freedom of the human mind. And after this attack they too were given a guarantee that annulled the preceding: it was decided that, to pass upon what was conformable to the general rules of a religion would be the duty, not of the repre-

(1) Law of December 9, 1905, Art. 4.

sentatives of that religion, but of lay judges, and these judges not to be those of the common law. Certainly the security thus offered would be only mediocre for the Church, but superabundant for the State: we know how their ranks are being constantly recruited and that the magistracy is rapidly becoming a masonry of the bench. However, they were not considered sufficiently trustworthy and the judicial investigation of these difficulties was referred to the "Council of State,"⁽¹⁾ the most dependent, unreliable and political of tribunals. There was to be no tribunal for Christ save that of Caiphas.

Robbed of the property that their fathers had consecrated to the Church, deprived of the guarantees given to all citizens in the name of modern liberty, governed by an exceptional law and amenable to an exceptional tribunal, the Catholics of France have their ghetto.

Nor is this saying all. When the grating closed upon the Jew in his ghetto he realized that he was a prisoner forever, although not defenseless, as the very permanency of his misfortune afforded a certain protection. Stability is an essential characteristic of all law, most especially of that bearing directly upon personal conditions. Now, if the present law of separation had this definite character Catholics could weigh what has been taken from them against what is left and would find it prudent to consent to many sacrifices in order to insure peace. But they are allowed no choice in the matter. They have been duly warned that this law is but an initial step, that it concedes far too much to the Church and will be followed by another, a truly republican law, which will definitely close places of superstition and

(1) Art. 8.

change the unbecoming custom of public prayer. This is the prediction of prophets who, in twenty years, have never gone wide of the mark in any of their threats; of leaders who have always dominated the course of events. If then, the present law kill Catholicism by starvation and anarchy, it will continue to be rigidly enforced, but, if Catholicism merely suffer from it and be neither weakened nor divided, another and more trenchant law will be mercilessly imposed. Persecution is marching steadily onward and, to-morrow perhaps, it will wrest from Catholics the last advantages for which they would have consented to make untold sacrifices. That, in their heroic patience, they should accept the narrowest imprisonment is not surprising, but to suppose that they would submit to confinement in a cell whose moving walls will at length close in upon them and crush them out of existence, is simply preposterous!

Since the French law is of such a character is there not every reason to consider the decision of the Sovereign Pontiff perfectly legitimate?

But his solicitude is not alone for the Church in France. He is responsible for the future of Catholicism throughout the entire world, and the relations between Church and State are everywhere strained. In their dealings with the Church the most Christian governments are seeking to diminish the number of time-honored privileges which they vouchsafed to religion, and to usurp many of its rights. Moreover, new winds are wafting to European nations a desire to abandon the old alliance of two powers for a régime of separation, and these winds blow from France rather than America. Had Pius X appeared to accept either as a legitimate change or a secondary evil, the transition in France

from the régime of mutual agreement to that of separation, the reciprocal and acknowledged clauses of that mutual agreement being destroyed by the will of only one of the contracting parties, and this separation denying Catholics their rightful share of common liberty and binding them by a law destructive of the Catholic hierarchy, he would have deprived himself of the strength to oppose the same deplorable conditions in other countries, because all governments would demand as their just due whatever had been conceded to one of their number. And how refuse them what had not been denied to that country which, of all others, was first in the antiquity of its faith and the earnestness of its works and was considered the model, par excellence, of Christian society? Pius X's absolute rejection of the unjust innovations in France, his determination to endure any and all trials, even the suspension of religious life in a country whose zeal has been the great auxiliary of the Catholic apostolate, has everywhere insured the exercise of his sovereign authority. By his dealings with France he announces to the friends and enemies of the Church his firmness as pontiff, and forestalls similar movements now being agitated elsewhere; by refusing to relinquish what is essential to the Church of France, he is defending what is indispensable to the universal Church.

The clearness of the papal document is equalled only by its moderation. It bears no trace of a will enslaved by anger or overwrought by zeal: it bespeaks a calm sense of justice which neither fears nor invites combat and which is eager to indicate the limits of obligatory resistance and lawful concession.

It considers perfect only the society in which men conform their civil laws to moral truths and, certain

that these truths have been brought into the world by Christianity, it believes that only that society is normally constituted in which the Church and State lead a life in common. And the politicians least authorized to complain of this conception are those unbelieving Frenchmen who, strange votaries of separation, have been throwing France into confusion for twenty years past in order to inspire all institutions with their unbelief and, by dint of impiety, to establish unity of thought. But between them and the Pope there is this difference: the Pope is more tolerant. He acknowledges that the separation of civil and religious society may not be unacceptable. In fact he maintains that it is not unacceptable if, in separating from the Church, the State will leave her the "liberty common to all and the possession of her property." He recalls that in several countries the Church accommodates herself to this régime, and he explicitly defines her resistance when he declares that she does not condemn "a law of separation but a law of oppression." He complains only of this "law remaining as it is," and of the "associations of worship as imposed by the law;" whence it follows that this resistance does not apply to all laws of separation and all associations of worship. He further states that, to render this law and the associations which it has created acceptable to the Church, it would suffice on the one side that the constitution of the Church and the rights of religious authority be safeguarded, and on the other that property necessary to the Church, especially sacred edifices, be irrevocably consigned to her.

Thus has he clearly distinguished between the separation which he cannot approve and that which he might

accept, and, whilst showing himself completely resigned to war, he betrays a strong desire for peace.

It now remains for the French Government to make known by its acts whether it wishes peace or war. Peace will not be violated if the two changes desired by the Pope be made in the law. But, according to the law's defenders, peace is already broken because those who may be believed say the Parliament will not retract: *Quod scripsi, scripsi*. Now, when the Pope, although treated with the utmost contempt, thinking only of the general welfare, does not deem it beneath his dignity to have an understanding with those who have wronged him, it would be highly absurd for mere deputies to allow their dignity to come between them and the general good and to spend their lives in patching up their laws, the worst of which they claim to be strictly intangible; when the head of a power established upon faith balances and submits reasons, it is ridiculous for the agents of reason to impose their ideas dogmatically. Are, then, the Pope's demands inordinate? To prove them such is the one way in which the legislator of 1906 can harm the Pontiff, whereas if they be just, to accept them is the one way in which not to injure himself.

Public opinion is not a high court wherein governments, whenever embarrassed by too close an investigation, can get complacent judges to declare that "the question is inadmissible." The question is admissible at this very moment. Therefore, is or is not the Pope wise in demanding that associations destined, according to law, to insure the exercise of Catholic worship be not turned into instruments of revolt against the Catholic hierarchy? Is there not legitimate ground for distrust? Can it be disputed that the least impious among the

originators, framers and executors of the law desire the conquest of France by Protestantism; that the most politic seek the ruin of Catholic discipline which, because of being an independent force, is open to suspicion; and that the most sectarian crave endless persecution? Have not all of these openly boasted to France of their object? Why, then, be astonished that the Pope has heard them or be angry with him for believing them? Does not their reputation demand that they pledge themselves not to allow their passions as private individuals to enter into their duties as men in public life? Did not they themselves feel this to be necessary and pretend to furnish Catholics a guarantee in the famous Article 4 on associations of worship? And since this guarantee has been proved delusive is it not their duty, if they be sincere, to replace it? And since it is worthless, both because of the vagueness of its terms and the character of the judge appointed to investigate it, why not render it efficacious by declaring that the conformity of associations of worship to the general organization of religion will be judged by the heads of that religion? Where is the humiliation in making obscure formulæ clear and granting what has been already promised; in destroying by the fairness of the text all suspicion of fraud?

Is not the Pope fully authorized to reclaim for the Church the immutable ownership of property necessary to her life? Does not the twofold experience of the French Revolution and the present day prove this property to be an easy prey for needy governments? Will the resources of the associations of worship be any more respected than was the fortune of the clergy one hundred and fifteen years ago, than were the remnants of the congregations yesterday, or than is the Budget

of Worship to-day? Does not the present law announce for to-morrow confiscation as a measure of which the Government is master? Is it not sufficient that these chronic robberies have the strength of custom, the main idea being to establish their legitimacy? Its gigantic financial thefts perpetrated against Catholics must ever remain the shameful, assailable point in the history of the Revolution. The solemn acknowledgment of the debt contracted by France when it borrowed the property of the clergy, the promises made by the Constituent Assembly when it seized this property, renewed by Napoleon as the incontestable pledge of a return to order, and observed for more than a century by the different governments as a debt of honor, brand as flagrantly infamous the laws of the terrorists and the present law which set at naught their country's sacred word. To deny a debt is not to cancel it, and the dishonesty of contemporary legislators invites the same moral reprobation as that incurred by the dishonesty of their ancestors, and is preparing the way for a new transaction in which the State will atone for the injustice committed against the Church. There remains to the revolutionists but one way of escaping such a future and of justifying the past, and that is to deny that the Church was ever an owner. This justification would, of course, be absurd as there is no ownership more ancient or better established as a certainty than that of the Church in old France. But even what is absurd provokes anger! Certain historians are largely responsible for political dishonesty as, on the authority of the most transparent sophisms, the party in power to-day unanimously denies that the Church owned property under the old régime. Even at that time the property belonged to the nation,

only the use of it being allowed the clergy and, in reclaiming said property, the State incurred no debt. Therefore, the promises of 1790 and 1800 were in reality gifts, and as gifts can be withdrawn exclusively at the will of him who conferred them: hence the laws of the Revolution, as also the present law, become legitimate. This historic theory forms the basis of that by which impious legislators pretend to govern the future: the only ownership anterior to the State and which must therefore be respected by it, is individual ownership. But the right of corporations of artificial persons, is an unnatural creation of the legislator. These corporations are formed with his permission, he suppresses them at will and, when they cease to exist, their property goes to him by escheat. It is by virtue of this right that the Government has gathered in the property of all the religious associations which it has destroyed and applied it to associations of worship. And in a country where these doctrines are running riot and have already borne the most pernicious fruit, it is only just that before advising Catholics to submit to the will of the State the Pope should wish to be assured of what fate would await them! Nor would he be indiscreet in asking whether the Church would be the incontestable owner of what the State pretends to leave her or whether associations of worship, like sponges that are squeezed when supposed to be sufficiently swollen, are destined to relieve the chronic dryness of the treasury. No matter to what extent he be disposed to forgive prejudices against the Church in the past, he cannot be indifferent as to her future. The Church cannot obey the precepts of her Founder, carry on His works and maintain His worship, in a word, she cannot live without resources.

And were she inclined to expect these resources from voluntary gifts only, these gifts should certainly not be wrested from her. If the State be determined to respect this ownership why does it decline to say so? If it refuse to pledge itself, why should it marvel that the Pope does not urge Catholics to pledge themselves?

Athwart the sinister plotting of shrewd schemers the sweet, direct simplicity of Pius X has shone like a ray of light. The Pope has expressed the fear, founded on ominous appearances, that if the Church give to legal innovations the support asked by the Government, she will be assailed both in her material and moral life. Is the State resolved to respect both one and the other? There is every reason why this security should be solemnly assured, but none why it should be denied. If the State refuse to alter and justify its law, it will be proof positive that the essential aim of the law is to harm the Church and that the Pope is right in claiming it to be "a law of oppression and not of separation." Hence the first result of the papal document is to oblige men in power to state what they want.

If their hostility to the Church does not prevent them from realizing their duty toward their country, if they do not wish to expose a great people to violent religious struggles, if they feel that in the present state of the world France lacks concord, now that they have been informed of the only obstacles to religious harmony, they will conclude that an easy means of insuring it would be the suppression of these obstacles. Thus will the papal document have been gloriously instrumental in speedily promoting peace.

If peace be not what is wanted by the men in power, if they declare their law intangible merely as an excuse

for leaving intact the abuses embodied in it; if they ignore the Church when confronted with their indebtedness to her, but are eager to acknowledge her when there is question of reviving despotism against her; if, having succeeded in enticing victims into the narrow prison, they grow angry at being detected and, tearing off their masks, show their real faces, the Pope's document will have brought about another great result: it will have fixed the responsibility of war upon its real authors.

But, to suppose this war a certainty and consequently to seek at once a means of sustaining it, would, we think, be an undeserved insult to French statesmen. We should wait till they would have commenced it before despairing of their patriotism and common sense. All that it now befits us to say is, that if it develops, we will endure it with sorrow at the thought of all who will suffer, with anguish at the thought of those whom it will harass, and with fear of its surprises, its duration, and the havoc it will create among venerable customs and faithful souls, but, at least, we need feel no remorse for having provoked these misfortunes. Our heart will be crushed, but not embittered, nor will we resort to that violence which the Pope condemns. Our true and invincible strength with sincere men, whom our enemies are imposing upon, is bound up in the fact, which cannot fail to be of weight, that it is a régime of exceptions and despotism, and that as citizens we demand our share of common liberty. The Pope has made this statement to the world and his word, reaching far beyond present difficulties, echoes even in the future. The best reasoning of the century will be arrayed against our adversaries; the institutions of democracy and the spirit of our time are with us.

None, even those who to-morrow may begin that war.

can foresee what character it will assume. As far as one can judge men of such variable moods it would seem to be their intention to persecute slowly and deliberately, but, whether the siege be long or short, whether it spare our courage or call it into play, we shall not abandon the cause confided to us by our enemies and our august leader. We know neither the way nor its perils, we know neither how long we shall walk in the desert nor how many of us will reach the promised land, but we do know that we carry with us the Ark of the Covenant, the law of necessary relations between the Church and modern society, a claim to equality in common liberty: no more, no less. And, sooner or later, the peace merited by our constancy will consecrate the rights we have defended and proclaim that, in keeping the independence of our faith, we have contributed to the liberty of all.

ETIENNE LAMY,
Correspondant.

Agnosticism



We are all familiar with the term "Agnosticism," and recognize the attitude of mind which it denotes as the most formidable antagonist of Christianity at the present day. It must therefore seriously claim the attention of all who would not only preserve the treasure of their own souls unimpaired, but likewise render assistance to the multitude of their fellows, within and without the Church, who, as one of these latter not long ago expressed it to me, are suffering from the sickness of bewildered faith.

But, frequently as the term is employed, it is very doubtful whether the great majority of those who use it to describe even their own position, attribute to it its proper and legitimate sense, and accordingly, in order to discuss the question, it behooves us first to make sure what it is that we are talking about.

There can, I think, be little doubt that very many of those who style themselves "Agnostics" signify that they are atheists, that they deny the existence of God, believing it to have been disproved by the discoveries of modern science, which, in the words of M. Caro, conducts God with honor to its frontiers, thanking Him for His provisional services, which it finds no longer required. This creed is often called "Agnosticism," but it is not that to which the title should be applied.

The genuine agnostic, as his creed is described by such authorities as Professor Huxley, who gave it its name, and Sir Leslie Stephen, indulges in no dogmatic denials, which he holds to be as irrational as dogmatic assertions. He will not say that there is no God, that man has not an immortal soul, that there is no eternal future in store for him of weal or woe, according to the manner of his life. What our agnostic does maintain is that in regard of all such matters we can *know* nothing, and that it is therefore mere idle waste of time and trouble to concern ourselves about them. His principle is that we can obtain true knowledge only by means of sensible experience, that is to say, only by means of such observations and experiments as fall within the province of science; and since such a mode of research can obviously teach us nothing about the beliefs and hopes of religion, he concludes that we know nothing, nor ever can know, or even conceive the possibility of knowing, anything concerning these (Professor Ray Lankester, in *The Times*, May 19, 1903). Accordingly, Professor Huxley lays it down that to occupy ourselves with such matters is as futile a proceeding as to inquire what are the politics of the inhabitants of the moon ("Lay Sermons," "The Physical Basis of Life").

It is thus clear that very different meanings are attached to the term "Agnosticism," while it is no less obvious that they are equally destructive of Christianity, and even of religion in any intelligible sense of the word. If we can know nothing of the existence of God and our relations towards Him, He is non-existent, so far as we are concerned, as is a rainbow for the blind; and as reasonable men we shall be forced to adopt Professor Huxley's advice, and dismiss entirely from our mind all such

inquiries, by means of which we can no more accomplish anything than a squirrel can travel back to his native wood by revolving in his cage.

It is to the consideration of agnosticism in its proper or genuine sense that I shall confine my observation; not only because this appears to be the only legitimate mode of treating the subject, but, even more, because in this guise it is undoubtedly most dangerous. That science has discovered anything which disproves the fundamental ideas of religion is an assertion that cannot seriously be made, and in consequence, as Sir Leslie Stephen allows ("An Agnostic's Apology"), Dogmatic Atheism is, to say the least, a rare phase of opinion—rare, we should add, amongst real students, though sadly too common amongst the less educated masses, who pin their faith to the confident but unscientific teaching of such writers as Professor Haeckel.

Genuine agnosticism, on the other hand, bases itself upon a principle which undoubtedly contains truth—and, as we all know, a half-truth is the most dangerous of errors. The human intellect, it rightly declares, is limited. There are boundaries which it is wholly unable to overstep, and it is our duty as honest men frankly to recognize our limitations, and not to dream dreams as to what there is beyond the frontier at which we are forced to stop, and then to persuade ourselves and others that these dreams are realities.

So far, it is evident, the agnostic is right. No doubt our intellect is limited—very limited. No doubt also it is our duty to confess as much, and not to pretend to knowledge which we do not, and cannot, possess. We part company with him when he goes on to make the assumption, already noticed, that in one way only can

we arrive at a knowledge of truth, namely, by the empirical method of observation and experiment. Whatever transcends the narrow limits of experience, and is thus "metempirical," says Sir Leslie Stephen, is forbidden ground for the intellect, which is there deprived of the very breath of its life, and becomes as impotent as our lungs, or the wings of a bird, would be beyond the confines of the atmosphere. But, necessarily, theology, in any sense, professes to exist in this impossible sphere, and therefore, in his view, it is plainly an imposture. Not only, he continues, are we incapable of knowing all about God, or of fully comprehending His nature and attributes, but we cannot know anything about Him, not even that He exists, for His existence cannot be demonstrated by observation and experiment.

Such is the position which the agnostic represents as being the only reasonable one, and we reply that not only is it altogether unreasonable, but that if we adopt it we must renounce all knowledge, not only concerning God and the truths of religion, but of much else of which no man doubts, and even concerning the truths of science herself.

For it is a patent fact that in no single branch of inquiry can the mind stop where observation and experiment cease to be available; and, were it to stop there, it would inevitably deprive what observation and experiment have taught it of all possible significance. Take, for example, the province of Physics. This deals with two factors, Matter and Force. What do we know, scientifically, about them? Of Matter, which we can observe, and on which we can experiment, we know a little, a very little, and every fresh discovery does but make it more obvious how little this is. But Force! As to what it is, science

knows just nothing at all. We see its results, or at least phenomena which we are forced to ascribe to its action, on the principle that every effect must have a cause. But the nature of that cause is absolutely dark, for we cannot get at it to observe or try our experiments. We know, for instance, that stones dropped from the hand fall to earth, and we say that this is due to the attraction of gravitation. In reality we know no more, from mere observation, apart from inference, than that these stones behave as if there were such an attraction; and when we try to pass further, and imagine what this attraction may be, we speedily discover so many perplexities that Sir John Herschel called it the "mystery of mysteries." As a well-known man of science has lately put the matter (Principal Lloyd Morgan in *The Tribune*, February 10, 1906):

"Physics knows nothing of force as an efficient cause of the accelerations with which it deals. The planets are in motion round the sun; the molecules of crystals move in an orderly fashion. What makes either planet or molecule move we simply do not know, as men of science. Under assignable conditions, they do move, and there's an end on't—for science.

But because she is thus utterly ignorant of the nature of Force, which lies beyond the limits of observation and experiment, does science declare her inability to be certain even of its existence? To do so would be to stultify herself and reduce all her domain to hopeless chaos. She could not predict, as do our almanac-makers, the course of the earth and the other planets during the coming year, did she not unhesitatingly assume that gravitation, however incomprehensible to her, will continue to act and to hold these bodies in their several paths

round the sun; for were this to cease, they would fly off into space. Similarly, multiform as are the uses to which we have learnt to put electricity, no man has the faintest idea what electricity is; and, in the words of the writer I have just quoted, "Biology knows nothing of vital force as an efficient cause of the phenomenon with which it deals."

There are other instances in which science is powerless, not only to pass beyond phenomena to that which, though itself imperceptible, is implied by them, but even, by any method of her own, to verify the phenomena themselves. Such is the case when they are phenomena, not of matter, but of mind. This is manifest in regard of æsthetic. What test can science apply to distinguish between the poetic excellence of the "Iliad" or "Hamlet," and that of the rhymsters who supply our music halls; or between a picture by Turner and the sign of a public house? Yet have we any doubt whatever that there is all the difference in the world? We are more certain of this than that the earth goes round the sun.

Still more imperiously does this truth force itself upon us in regard of the moral law. Whatever may be their systems and professions, all men are forced practically to agree that some things are good and others bad; some lines of conduct right and others wrong; and that no power on earth can change their character, so as to make benevolence, generosity, and truthfulness evil, and exalt cruelty, selfishness, and fraud in their place. As Mr. Balfour says ("Foundations of Belief," eighth edition, p. 13):

"The two subjects on which professors of every creed, theological and anti-theological, seem least anxious to differ, are the general substance of the Moral Law, and

the character of the sentiments with which it should be regarded. That it is worthy of all reverence; that it demands our ungrudging submission; and that we owe it not merely obedience, but love—these are commonplaces which the preachers of all schools vie with each other in proclaiming."

Here, then, is something in regard of which, by the common consent of mankind, we have arrived at certitude, towards which science can by no possibility contribute anything. She can no more discriminate between good and evil than between beauty and ugliness, nor can she offer any explanation as to why it should be man's duty to reverse the conduct of what many, professing to speak in her name, represent to us as our evolutionary ancestors. It is not science but conscience that witnesses to the law, and conscience is nowise scientific, for it refuses to argue, and appeals only to its own evidence in issuing its peremptory prohibitions or commands. Nevertheless, the most typical agnostics have no hesitation in accepting with fullest assent what comes to them in this non-scientific or "metempirical" manner. Professor Huxley, for example, tells us (Hume, "English Men of Letters," p. 58) that:

"We live in a world which is full of misery and ignorance, and the plain duty of each and all of us is to try to make the little corner he can influence somewhat less miserable, somewhat less ignorant than it was before he entered it."

But how is any such duty made "plain" to us? Most assuredly, not by any method of scientific observation and experiment. Agnostic science tells us that man has been evolved through the survival of the fittest, in the struggle for existence, and that the quality which enabled

his progenitors to survive was their utter disregard for others, whom they ruthlessly stamped out whenever they stood in their own way. Whence came the total change of principle when man appeared upon the scene?—for how great is the change some of the ultra-partisans of the new school demonstrate by rushing into extravagance in the opposite direction, and declaring that our duty is to forget ourselves altogether, and think only of the good of others. Nay, it has been maintained, not only that the claims of patriotism must vanish, as tinged with selfishness, giving place to world-citizenship, but that should we in the future establish relations with the inhabitants of other planets, "our Altruism must widen its embrace beyond the limits of the human family." (Saleeby, "The Cycle of Life according to Modern Science," p. 3.) It is quite evident that, however constantly they may have the name of science on their lips, it is not through her that men arrive at such conclusions.

We may obviously go further, and ask how the fundamental principle of agnosticism itself can be warranted by science. That principle, as we have already heard it, is that only by means of observation and experiment can any real knowledge be acquired.

But how can observation and experiment establish such a principle? How can positive means of acquiring knowledge establish the negative conclusion that no other means of acquiring knowledge are possible? To say this would be like saying that the sense of touch can avail, not only to demonstrate the reality of objects within its reach, but moreover to prove the non-reality of those which we cannot feel but only see. How can observation and experiment demonstrate anything either for or against the pretensions of other means for obtain-

ing knowledge, which they are, confessedly, as powerless to examine as are our most sensitive nerves to verify the existence of the luminiferous ether?

Thus, in laying down his first principle of argumentation, the agnostic contradicts it, by accepting it as true, in the very same breath in which he declares that he can have no sufficient warrant of its truth.

Here in fact we encounter another example of the fatal defect which attaches to any purely negative system. As every tyro in logic has learnt, the man who declares that we can be sure of nothing refutes his own assertion by being sure that we cannot be sure; he who asserts that no man can ever tell the truth, necessarily would have it understood that he himself is telling the truth in making such a statement. And similarly, if in a somewhat less flagrant degree, do our agnostics. They desire to exclude sources of knowledge, the elimination of which would at once introduce intellectual vacuum, and make it impossible for us to know more of the universe or of ourselves than do the beasts of the field, which have senses as good as ours, or better, but have not mind. And so impossible is the position thus created, that the agnostic never thinks of applying his own principles save in the one instance of religion, and it is, indeed, abundantly evident that they were never seriously meant to be applied to anything else.

Can it be said, therefore, that as concerns religion the agnostic principle assumes a different character, and can claim a validity which it obviously lacks in other fields of knowledge? This is, no doubt, the assumption at the back of the agnostic mind, an assumption which in effect prejudges the whole question. But how can it be said that the processes of reasoning upon which be-

lievers rely are alien in their nature from those which are recognized as sound and legitimate in other branches of inquiry? As we have seen, in physics we accept the existence and efficiency of forces altogether inscrutable to us, because of phenomena which we cannot attempt to explain without assuming their existence. In esthetics and ethics we ground all our philosophy upon phenomena which are utterly beyond the reach of observation and experiment, but to which we nevertheless assent with absolute certitude.

In exactly the same manner does the Natural Theologian argue from Nature to Nature's God. As it has been excellently expressed by a recent writer (Gayner, "The New Materialism," p. 14):

"Taking the three factors of the universe—matter, force, and mind—we find this state of things. The 'Philosophers' see as much as they want to see, and no more. These three mysterious entities lie equally behind the veil, are equally 'metaphysical conceptions.' Natural phenomena bear witness to the existence of all three in exactly the same way, viz., by special characteristics from which we necessarily infer the existence of each. From the reality of these phenomena, we infer a real basis, matter; from their actual occurrence, we infer an agent or power at work, force; from their orderly character we infer a controlling and guiding influence, mind. Why are two of these inferences valid, although they point to things 'behind the veil,' and the third is to be regarded as invalid, because it, too, points to something behind the veil? If we are able to read the existence of two of these things in their effects, why not of the third as well? The evidence is as plain in one case as another."

It is not easy to understand how such a line of argument can be condemned as unscientific and illegitimate, unless we are prepared similarly to treat those which science herself constantly employs. Nor does the fact of harmonious order, so strikingly evident in nature, stand alone as furnishing the basis of inference. To many minds the phenomena of the moral law will appeal even more forcibly. As we have seen, there is undeniably a practically universal consensus amongst mankind that what we style virtues are good, and what we style vices are evil—that it is our duty to practise the one, and eschew the other—that it is no human enactment that has invested them with their respective characters, or imposed obligations in respect of them—and that no human power, no decree of kings or parliaments, could alter that character; or dispense from that obligation. Here is a phenomenon which, like other phenomena, postulates a cause, and despite the mists of words with which some philosophies would endeavor to bridge the gulf, but one intelligible explanation has ever been discovered, namely, that of theism. According to this, it is the Eternal, self-existent, First Cause—God—who, making man to His own image and likeness, implanted in his soul that conscience which is, as has been said, the monitor from whose judgment there is no appeal, and whose office it is to convey to us the will of our Creator.

Such are in brief some of the lines of argument by which we are led to these conclusions to which, as the agnostic declares, no process of reasoning can possibly lead us. I do not cite them for the purpose of directly discussing the great question with which they deal, but only as enabling to judge of their character, and that of the agnostic assumption which seeks to put them out of

court, and to deny the possibility of arriving at the knowledge of truth by their means. And I would ask all sensible men whether in thus reasoning we do not follow the very method according to which science herself teaches us to argue.

One more observation before I conclude what I have to say regarding this aspect of my subject. The question we have in hand is one that requires to be treated by logic, not by quoting the authority of names, however great; but of authority something requires to be said, for nothing probably does so much to make agnosticism popular as the idea, sedulously fostered by many of its exponents, that all scientific men are necessarily its votaries. But this is a most monstrous and groundless assumption, as a very slight examination is sufficient to show. Whereas agnosticism, as Sir Leslie Stephen tells us, declares any knowledge regarding God to be absolutely impossible for us, such eminent men of science as Professors Stewart and Tait tell us ("The Unseen Universe," p. 47), on the contrary, that the existence of a Deity who is the Creator and upholder of all things is for them "absolutely self-evident." Lord Kelvin not long ago (see *The Times*, May 2, 1903), declared that "science positively affirms creative and directive power, which she compels us to accept as an article of belief." In the same manner, thirty-two years earlier, he had told the British Association in his presidential address (Edinburgh, 1871), that "overpowering proofs of intelligence and benevolent design lie around us; showing to us through nature the influence of a free-will, and teaching us that all living beings depend upon one ever-acting Creator and Ruler." So another president, Sir William Siemens, told the same body (1884) that "all knowledge

must lead up to one great result, that of an intelligent recognition of the Creator through his works." It would be easy to multiply similar testimonies, but I will content myself with naming some of those who might furnish them—Sir John Herschel, Faraday, Clerk Maxwell, Sir Gabriel Stokes, Pasteur. And the greatest of them all, Sir Isaac Newton, undoubtedly recognized the limitations of our intelligence. He likened his own unparalleled discoveries to the shells picked up by a child on the sea beach, while the ocean rolled before him unexplored. But this recognition did not hinder him from holding that to treat of God is a necessary part of Natural Philosophy (*Principia*," Schol. Gen.).

There are therefore those who, while well acquainted with science and scientific method, know nothing of the agnosticism which is claimed as the result of such acquaintance.

Thus far, we have met the agnostic system on its own ground, and examined its root-principle in the light of pure reason. But, necessary though it be for us to be ready thus to deal with the attacks of our adversaries, and reply to their arguments, it is not by such means that a practical antidote to the malady of doubt and disbelief is to be obtained. The man who enjoys security against them is one who relies upon some thing far more efficacious than logic and argument to sustain his faith, namely, on the knowledge of God, who comes of his own personal experience in the practice of religion. The Catholic who says his prayers, who frequents the Sacraments, who strives to live in communion with God, has means of knowledge concerning Him, of which the unbelieving philosopher can have not the faintest conception.

Natural theology, the knowledge of God, which we can acquire philosophically by the light of nature alone, is no doubt indispensable, as laying the foundations for something more—but it is not this which has in fact been appointed as the means whereby we are to arrive at the possession of truth;—nor are its teachings adequate for the requirements of our souls as they actually are. Obviously, it can teach us nothing about Christianity, of which mere reason can know nothing. What it can tell regarding God of necessity falls far short of what He wishes to know. Of necessity, the elementary notions which human reason naturally attaches to the idea of a Supreme Being, are the simplest of the Divine attributes—power, wisdom and goodness, which it therefore sets forth as if they were all, and amongst them, as Cardinal Newman says (*Christianity and Physical Science*, "Lectures on University Subjects"), it has most to say concerning power, and least concerning goodness. Even conscience—"our great internal teacher of religion, which, more than any other natural source of knowledge, teaches us not only that God is, but what He is, providing for the mind a real image of Him, as a medium of worship" (*"Grammar of Assent,"* p. 385)—represents Him primarily, and before all else, as our judge, and the attribute on which its witness is so clear as even to blind us to all others, is His retributive justice. But this is not the aspect under which He desires His people to regard Him; and, as we know from our own experience and that of others, it is not in this character that He most powerfully appeals to the hearts of men, and secures their allegiance and service. It is not His will to leave us to the light of our unaided reason. From the first beginnings of our race He has ever superadded

revelation, which He has placed within the reach of all, not of the learned and wise alone, but of the humblest and rudest, provided they were men of good will. And this is a point of prime importance: for if there be a God to know whom is the supreme necessity for men, and if He desires to be known by them—in other words, if there be true religion at all—then obtaining of such knowledge cannot possibly be dependent upon the possession of faculties and powers of intellect which not one man in ten thousand possesses.

This being so, it is evidently a fatal mistake so to occupy ourselves with the arguments furnished by reason solely as to make it seem, and perhaps ourselves to fancy, that in them alone is the justification of our faith to be found, losing sight, or allowing others to lose sight, of what is the real strength of our position. It is not by arguments, however cogent, that men are converted or that their hearts are touched, and we shall never arrive at anything satisfactory regarding religion if we discuss it like a point of law or a maxim of political economy.

"I do not want (says Newman) to be converted by a smart syllogism; if I am asked to convert others by it I say plainly I do not care to overcome their reason without touching their hearts; I wish to deal, not with controversialists, but with inquirers" (*Ibid.* p. 419).

And inquirers are just what our agnostic friends are not. They will not even consider the possibility of Christianity being anything but fable and delusion, and so long as they remain in this state of mind we can have no hope of doing anything but answering their arguments, as I have endeavored to do, and demonstrating that we are not afraid to meet them on their own terms and look them squarely in the face.

Nor does it by any means follow, as will of course be objected, that because we will not restrict ourselves to the teachings of pure reason, we therefore disparage it and prove ourselves irrational and unscientific. Far from it. It is our reason, and especially, as has been said, the arguments it draws from the facts of conscience, that lead us to the recognition of God, and convince us that being, as He must be, supremely good, He has undoubtedly provided some means whereby we may obtain that knowledge concerning Him, an ineradicable craving for which He has implanted in our souls—some way to Him accessible to all—"so plain that the wayfarers, though fools, shall not err therein." We look round the world and we find that the Catholic Church, and she alone, claims and ever has claimed to furnish these means, and that in her teaching millions of men in every age have found peace of soul, feeling that they had obtained what they wanted. By such marks our reason recognizes her as a creation which no mere human power can explain. As Newman writes ("Essays Critical and Historical," note on Essay ix.):

"The great note of an ever-enduring *cætus fidelium*, with a fixed organization, a unity of jurisdiction, a political greatness, a continuity of existence in all places and times, a suitableness to all classes, ranks, and callings, an ever-energizing life, an untiring, ever-evolving history, is her evidence that she is the creation of God, and the representative and home of Christianity."

Thus being convinced that here we have found the divinely appointed teacher, our common sense bids us submit ourselves to the Church, as otherwise she would have no reason for existing.

When we do so, and know her from within, we at once

become cognizant of much which to those outside her is as imperceptible as the forms and hues of a painted window are to those without the building in which it is placed. Just as a child brought up on the system of Plato's "Republic" in a State institution, knowing nothing of father, mother, brother, or sister, could have no notion of the charms of home or family ties, so those who have not been privileged to enter the household of faith can have no conception of the overpowering sense of security and peace which her faithful children enjoy, and in which they find the most convincing assurance that God is there, while the unerring instinct with which she divines and provides for all the wants and needs of humanity, "is in itself a proof that (she) is really the supply of them" ("Grammar of Assent," p. 481).

Here, as I have said, is the real strength of our position, the true foundation of our faith, if we build aright. No man will ever believe that he can know nothing of God, who has felt Him working within his soul, and has learnt to recognize His voice whispering comfort, encouragement, or reproof.

In arguing upon such grounds, we of course expose ourselves to the obvious objection that the evidence to which we appeal is notoriously subject, more than any other, to hallucination and delusion, for does not every fanatic and visionary rely confidently upon the testimony of his own inner consciousness?

This is undoubtedly true; but it proves no more than that here as elsewhere some men may fall into error—it certainly does not prove that none can find the truth. Certainly, from the undeniable fact of the frequency of such error, we cannot in reason draw the conclusion that such direct action of the Creator on the soul of His

creature is impossible, or impossible to recognize with certainty, and unless we can do this we must apply in each instance the tests which common sense suggests.

And here, as is evident, the sceptic or agnostic can contribute nothing towards a solution, for avowedly he has no experience of what can be judged by experience alone. The believer is in a totally different position. The universal craving of mankind to know something of their Maker and their destiny—or, in other words, their yearning for religion—is a fact which, as even agnostic philosophers admit, cannot be without significance. As the migratory instinct of salmon or swallow is inexplicable unless we understand its goal, the ocean, or the sunny south, so this restless longing of the human soul to obtain enlightenment concerning the deep problems of the universe points to some means by which such longings can be satisfied. And when we find a religion by which as a matter of fact they can be satisfied, and satisfied in such a manner as to accord with the teachings of reason, however far they transcend those teachings—and exactly to harmonize with the voice of conscience, we have what we may even style a scientific argument in favor of that religion.

And here we discover the special and exclusive strength of the position of the Catholic. He does not stand alone, or rely merely upon his own private and personal discernment. He has with him the Communion of the Saints, the millions who for two thousand years, in every region of the earth, in every race and every class of society, have found peace for their souls where he finds it, and recognized the workings of the same spirit which he recognizes. It is this which alone has made the history of the Church possible, which had made her what even

those who are not her children acknowledge her to be, the most marvellous empire the world has ever seen, and it makes a strong demand upon our credulity to ask us to believe that mere illusion and self-deception have been able to accomplish results which neither philosophy nor science herself can ever hope to emulate.

Therefore, although it is in the experience of his own soul that every man must find the most cogent and vital evidence of God's vivifying influence, he is sustained and strengthened in his faith by the concord and sympathy of his fellows, as a soldier marching to battle by the comrades with whom he is incorporated.

Over and above all this, there is the supernatural virtue of faith, which, as every Catholic child learns from his Catechism, enables us to believe without doubting whatever God has revealed, and which invests the knowledge then imparted with a character of absolute certainty, marking it off as something quite different from any other. Like other virtues, this may be forfeited by neglect and disobedience, as it can be fomented and cherished by fidelity and submission. As I have already said, he is truly secured against the perils we have been considering who can rely for his defence, not only, or even so much, on the weapons of his intellect, as on those aids which are given to those whose hearts are open to God's visitations, which they strive to merit by humble and faithful service. For such as these there is no danger lest, intoxicated with the pride of human knowledge, they should forget that there is knowledge still higher, and immeasurably more needful for man, towards which they will find that every kind of knowledge rightly understood does but point the way. As the illustrious Pasteur said, with whose words we may fitly conclude:

"The result of all my studies has been to bring me to have the faith of the Breton peasant. Had I pushed them further I should probably have even the faith of the Breton peasant's wife" (F. Bournand, "Pasteur, sa Vie et ses Œuvres," p. 262).

REV. JOHN GERARD, S.J.

The General Election in France



THERE is no truer maxim in French politics than the oft-quoted saying, "It is always the unexpected that happens." This absence of political stability makes prophecy or deduction absolutely impossible. When, in the nineteenth century, the future of a French dynasty seemed most assured, its downfall was imminent. Charles X had laid the foundations of the French African empire by the capture of Algiers, and the internal peace of France seemed assured by the birth of the Comte de Chambord, when a street row was transformed by journalists into a Revolution which drove the elder branch of the Bourbons from the throne. Louis Philippe had to all appearances beaten his opponents, and M. Guizot had become Prime Minister in name as well as in fact, when the prohibition of a banquet roused the fury of the Paris mob and forced the King of the French to fly to England. The policy of the Third Napoleon had been fully ratified by a *plébiscite* when the rashness of M. Ollivier's Ministry plunged France into a disastrous war, which culminated in the overthrow of the Second Empire. In the same way a Parliament, in which, out of 590 deputies, only 129 were pledged to the separation of Church and State, has repealed the Concordat of 1801. Again, when the forecasts of political meteorologists, based on the unpopularity of the "affaire des fiches"

and of the inventories of Church property, foretold disaster to the Government, and even the confidential reports from the constituencies led the Minister of the Interior to anticipate the loss of some thirty seats, the Government has secured the largest solid majority yet given to any Administration since the foundation of the Third Republic. The question is, what relation this majority bears to that conflict which has raged between Church and State during the last two years.

To understand the history of the Concordat, we must begin with that all-night sitting of the National Assembly on August 4, 1789, when the representatives of the clergy surrendered their privileges and their tithes to the nation. On November 4 all ecclesiastical property was also placed at its disposal for the support of public worship, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor. On February 13, 1790, monastic vows were suppressed; and on April 13 the Catholic religion ceased to be the religion of the State. On July 12 the Civil Constitution of the clergy was passed, and the Pope disestablished in France. This Constitution was never accepted by the Holy See. In 1794 the Convention decreed the separation of Church and State, thus depriving the schismatic Church of all its revenues and privileges. There was some revival of religion after the suppression of the Reign of Terror; and many emigrant priests who refused to accept the Civil Constitution of the clergy began to return to France. This respite was, however, but short-lived, for, when the reactionary movement had been defeated by the Directory, the clergy was again subjected to persecution and the Church placed under disabilities. France was in a state of religious chaos; and the people were clamoring for the man who would not only restore

the old forms of Christian worship, but regularize the situation of the State in its relations to the Church.

Every circumstance was therefore favorable to the adoption of the Concordat signed at Paris on July 15, 1801. Its main object is set in the preamble:

"The Government of the Republic recognizes the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion as the religion of the vast majority of French citizens. His Holiness also acknowledges at the same time that this same religion has derived, and hopes for, the greatest benefit from the Establishment of Catholic worship in France, and especially from its profession by the Consuls of the Republic."

Its chief provisions were as follows: The Catholic religion shall be freely and publicly practised in France. The First Consul is to nominate the bishops, and the Pope to confer canonical institution. The bishops and clergy shall take an oath of obedience to the Government. Bishops are to appoint parish priests, subject to the Government's approval. The Holy See pledges itself not to disturb those who purchased Church property at the time of the Revolution. The Government guarantees a proper salary to bishops and parochial clergy, whilst full power of founding endowments is conceded to French Catholics.

The Concordat was supplemented by the "Organic Articles," the work of Portalis, the eminent jurist, which professed to define the points that had not been settled by the Concordat. These Articles provide that no bull, brief, rescript, decree, mandate, provision, or other document emanating from the Vatican may be published in France without the consent of the Government; no synod or other national or diocesan ecclesiastical assembly

may be held without its express leave; no bishop may quit his diocese without permission from the head of the State. The professors in the seminaries must subscribe to the Gallican Declaration made by the French clergy in 1682, and undertake to teach its doctrines. The salary of archbishops is fixed at 600*l.*, of bishops at 400*l.*, of the first-class parochial clergy at 60*l.*, and of the second-class parochial clergy at 40*l.* a year.

Though these Articles were never cordially accepted by the Holy See, they have remained untouched as the complement of the Concordat even under the Restoration; but they are now abrogated at the same time as the original document. M. Sabatier regards separation as a natural evolution, though the abolition of the Concordat was not, as has been already said, part of the Ministerial programme at the general election of 1902. Whilst 129 deputies advocated separation, 140 absolutely declared against it; and the great majority regarded the question as so absolutely outside the region of practical politics that they did not even mention it in their election addresses. This was, however, no reason for leaving the Church at peace.

There was dissension and disagreement in the ranks of the Republican "Bloc." Radicals and Socialists, who had remained united in their campaign against the Congregations, began to drift apart. At Saint-Étienne all the eloquence of M. Roannet was insufficient to keep the revolutionary Socialists in order; and they showed themselves in a majority of three to one. M. Jaurès endeavored to distract attention by asking the Chamber, after the outbreak of the Eastern war, to give up the Franco-Russian alliance. This attempt at reunion proved a conspicuous failure. The Radical Left decided to up-

hold the alliance, and were supported by the "Union Démocratique." This incident nearly broke up the Ministry; and there were rumors of dissensions between its more conservative and its more advanced members. The Government was placed in a minority more than once; and it was evident that an attack upon the Church alone could rally all sections in its support. The Government had therefore, in self-defence, to introduce a bill for the suppression of Congregational teaching.

Under the old régime, and during the early part of the nineteenth century, elementary education had almost entirely fallen into the hands of the religious orders; and a certain number of these were specially authorized by the Government to teach in elementary schools. The Christian Brothers, the Brothers of Saint Viateur, the Marists, and others, had founded schools on every side. M. Combes therefore asked the Chamber to declare that in five years' time all Congregationist teaching should come to an end, and that the property of the authorized Congregations should be liquidated in the same way as that of those which had not been authorized by law. This measure was carried with a few amendments, of which the most important extended the period from five to ten years, while another permitted teaching Congregations to support novitiates in France for the supply of teachers to French schools abroad, in the colonies, and in countries under the French Protectorate. These modifications were not extensive enough to affect the union of the Ministerialists; and the Socialists rallied once more to the Government, on the plea that they would otherwise split up the majority and arrest the anti-clerical work of the Cabinet.

Fresh evidence had, however, to be given of its hos-

tility to religion; and the Easter recess was devoted to the removal of all crosses, crucifixes, and other religious emblems from the courts of justice. This measure gave rise to protests on all sides, especially when Good Friday was chosen to carry the order into effect. The Order of Advocates even talked of a public demonstration, to be headed by their president, but nothing was done; and the courts reopened without any of those disturbances that had been anticipated. These were, however, but passing skirmishes and led no one to expect the great fight on the separation of Church and State, which was the indirect result of President Loubet's visit to Rome.

French Catholics had done what they could to prevent this visit, which they regarded as a solemn ratification by a Catholic power of the spoliation of the Papal States by Victor Emmanuel; and an attempt was even made to refuse the necessary credits, which was defeated by an overwhelming majority in the Chamber. The Pope protested against M. Loubet's action; but his protest was not published until it appeared in M. Jaurès paper *l'Humanité*. This protest recalled the fact that the heads of Catholic states were bound in a manner totally different from the heads of non-Catholic states; that they were united as such by special bonds to the Supreme Pastor of the Church, and must therefore extend to him the greatest consideration in so far as regards his dignity, his independence, and his imprescriptible rights; that this duty, hitherto acknowledged by all, was specially binding upon France, which, through a bilateral agreement, enjoyed signal privileges, such as a large representation in the College of Cardinals, and possessed, by special favor, the protectorate of Catholic interests in the East; and that, in paying a formal visit to the King of Italy at

Rome, on the spot that once belonged to the Pontifical See, M. Loubet had seriously offended the Sovereign Pontiff. If, notwithstanding these facts, the Nuncio still remained in Paris, this must only proceed from grave motives of order of the most special character.

This protest was resented by the French Government. On May 21, 1904, M. Nisard, the French Minister to the Vatican, was recalled; and on the 27th an order of the day was adopted by the Chamber, approving of the rupture of political relations between France and the Vatican. This was the first step towards the separation of Church and State. The rupture was, however, by no means complete. M. de Courcelles remained in Rome as *chargé d'affaires*; and Monseigneur Lorenzelli, the papal Nuncio, was allowed to remain in Paris. Graver complications were, however, at hand. Monseigneur Geay, the Bishop of Laval, had been for some time out of touch with the Catholics of his diocese, one of the most religious in the whole of France. He had, as a rule, distinguished himself by his enthusiastic support of the Government, and by his advanced political views. In this capacity he had been fortunate enough to earn the approval of a certain section of the press. On the other hand, the local Catholic newspapers were bitterly hostile to him. He had been accused of conduct which, if not positively proved to be immoral, was certainly most indiscreet; and his authority in his own diocese was absolutely nil. Then Monseigneur Le Nordez, the Bishop of Dijon, was also at loggerheads with his clergy; he had shown such want of dignity and propriety that seminarists in his own diocese had in many cases refused to accept ordination from him. These two bishops were, however, notwithstanding their local unpopularity, special favorites

with the authorities, as being animated with the most favorable sentiments towards the Government of the Republic.

On May 17, Cardinal Vanutelli wrote to the Bishop of Laval to remind him that the Holy Office had, in the name of the Holy See, already asked him to give up of his own accord the charge and direction of his diocese, and informed him that, as the very grave reasons which had inspired the Holy See with this resolution still prevailed in their integrity, he was himself compelled formally to renew this invitation. He therefore ordered him to take the necessary steps so that the Holy Office need not be compelled to adopt further measures, which would certainly be taken if, in a month's time, he had not obeyed this order. This letter was forwarded by the bishop to the Minister of Public Worship; and the French Government protested that by its action the Holy See was infringing the fifth section of the Concordat, which provided that nominations to vacant bishoprics should be made by the First Consul, and only canonical institution conferred by the Holy See. The Government argued that these provisions ought to apply also to dismissal and enforced resignation; and that a bishop's power could neither be conferred nor withdrawn without the approval of the Republic.

On June 3 the Government again complained of the action of the Nuncio in writing to Monseigneur Le Nordez ordering him to suspend his ordinations. They argued that the Nuncio, as a simple ambassador, had no right to correspond with the bishops; and that this also was a violation of the Concordat, as the Papacy could in no way diminish the prerogatives of a bishop or partially depose him without the approval of the Government.

This was followed by protests against the action of the Papacy in summoning Monseigneur Geay and Monseigneur Le Nordez to Rome. The Cardinal, in his reply, maintained that the bishops were dependent upon the Supreme Pontiff in the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that they were obliged to visit Rome once in every four years. He also pointed out that these facts had already been mentioned verbally by the Nuncio to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and had appeared to him satisfactory.

These explanations were of no avail; and the Government instructed M. de Courcelles to close all relations with the Holy See, intimating at the same time that they considered the mission of the papal Nuncio to the Republic as also at an end. M. de Courcelles left Rome, and the Nuncio Paris, on July 30, thus terminating to all practical purposes that Concordat which had governed the relations of France with the Holy See for over a century. The whole cause of all this controversy was shortly settled, so far as the bishops themselves were concerned. Monseigneur Le Nordez and Monseigneur Geay both left for Rome to make their submission. They were found guilty of disobeying the orders of the Minister of Public Worship, who had forbidden them to leave their dioceses; and their salaries were suspended. This was a great blow to the Government, which had hoped to found a national Gallican Church with the help of these two bishops; and nothing now stood in the way of the bill which was to give parliamentary sanction to the abrogation of the Concordat with Rome by the disestablishment and disendowment of the Catholic Church in France. Although M. Combes had pledged himself, on October 21, to introduce the measure, he was in his turn assailed by a fresh agita-

tion, which eventually drove him and his Government from office. The *Figaro* of October 27 and 28 started this new movement by disclosing to the world the whole system of espionage which had been organized in the French army by General André, the Minister of War, and some of his political supporters.

It appeared that, at the beginning of 1903, some Freemasons had decided, under the pretext of Republican defence, to organize within the army a secret service of inspection and information. This secret service set immediately to work; and, within a few months, a regular intelligence department was established, with hundreds of amateur detectives ready to keep the Minister of War in constant touch with the religious views and political opinions of their brother officers, on the tacit understanding that they would be rewarded by promotion over their victims' heads. The whole of this secret service had its spies, its bloodhounds, and its inspectors, who well knew they might expect crosses, stripes, and even special appointments, in return for good work done. The author of this organization was Commandant Pasquier, the Governor of the Cherche-Midi prison; and his notion was taken up by the "Grand Orient" of France, a body which has long been severed from all connection with British Freemasonry. Under the title of Sol. Mil. ("Solidarité Militaire") they resolved to found a new association amongst those officers who were Freemasons. Brethren were invited to secure information themselves, and in their turn to pass it on to the "Grand Orient." Who were the father, the mother, the relations, and the belongings of their brother officers, and of their brother officers' wives? Where had they been educated—in a religious or in a lay school? What were their clubs, and what society

did they frequent? What were their religious opinions, and where did they send their children to school? With whom did they shoot and hunt, and at what châteaux did they stop? The whole series of questions ended with: "Is he an anti-Semite?" The issue of this police circular was bitterly opposed by a section of the order before it was printed and circulated; indeed some brethren denounced it as dishonorable to Freemasonry; but they were overborne by the majority. Several local lodges declined to have anything to say to this policy; but the fact remains that some twelve thousand *fiches* or slips of paper were filled up. We can only give one specimen as characteristic of the rest.

"Fiche No. 22. Commandant Bonnan (I.L.C.) at Bruyères will be recommended by General Bonnal for promotion. He is a fanatical clerical; started, on his arrival at Bruyères, by going solemnly to Communion with his whole family. Owing to the example he has given, officers and non-commissioned officers have begun to frequent church assiduously. When the local municipality had a dispute with the parish priest, who wished the children educated in the secular, to attend catechism in the free schools, he took the side of the parish priest. His wife hears catechism at the sisters."—Note O.

This slip also contained the names of four other officers, three of whom were condemned with the same fatal O, the fourth, however, being recommended. Commandant Bonnan had been licensed by the Staff College, and passed extremely high through the military school; but his chances of promotion were destroyed by this fatal mark, while his juniors have been made lieutenant-colonels over his head. Jacquot the "informer" was, on the other

hand, promoted out of his turn, and became the youngest lieutenant-colonel in the French army.

On October 28, 1904, Col. Rousset, Nationalist Republican Deputy for the Meuse, raised the question in the Chamber. He was followed by M. Guyot de Villeneuve, who produced the correspondence between Captain Mollin, aide-de-camp to General André, and M. Vadecard, the secretary to the "Grand Orient" of France. The General attempted to stem the torrent of indignation which had been roused by these disclosures by disputing the authenticity of the documents produced. He even proceeded himself to burn those which had accumulated at his office; but he set fire to the chimney and thus made his complicity clear to the world. M. Vadecard made things worse by prosecuting his assistant, M. Bidegain, for having stolen the documents to sell them to M. Guyot de Villeneuve and his friends. The subject was again brought up; and General André, who had in the meantime thrown his aide-de-camp, Captain Mollin, to the wolves, argued that the practice was necessary in the interests of the Republic; whilst M. Berteaux, the reporter on the *War Budget*, went still farther and maintained that the system was a legacy from the days of clerical and reactionary domination at the War Office. It was useless to argue; and the Chamber threw out the order of the day by a majority of only two votes. Some sort of reaction was however produced by the conduct of M. Syveton, a Nationalist deputy, who gave General André, who was an old man, so violent a blow in the face as to throw him to the ground. The mischief had however been done; and General André was forced to resign office. He has now revenged himself by telling the whole story to the press.

In the meanwhile M. Guyot de Villeneuve continued

to prosecute his campaign with vigor, and every day published, either in the *Figaro* or in the *Gaulois*, a series of "slips" relating to suspected officers, with the names of those who had informed against them. The Legion of Honor took the matter up; and General Février, formerly High Chancellor, agreed to receive all petitions from its knights and other members asking the Council to proceed against those members who had furnished secret and malicious information. The feeling grew stronger every day; and, when the Chamber met, the order of the day, which was taken as a vote of confidence, was only carried by a majority of six. As this included six members of the Cabinet who had no seats in the Chamber, while M. Doumer, the President (who sided with the Opposition), could not vote, the result was virtually a defeat; and M. Combes had to resign. On Jan. 27, 1905, M. Rouvier's Government appeared before the Chambers and read a Ministerial declaration, which included a bill for the separation of Church and State, which proved in some respects more indulgent to the Church than its predecessors, and was laid upon the table of the Chamber of Deputies on February 9.

Mr. Bodley, in his interesting but somewhat sketchy essay on the "Church in France," which is but a prelude to a more comprehensive work, explains the position of M. Aristide Briand, now a Cabinet Minister, but then *rapporteur* of the Bill. A measure, even when introduced by a Government, is submitted to a small committee of each House, which reports upon it and, if necessary, redrafts it. "Consequently a Government Bill, when discussed in each Chamber, is only secondarily in the hands of a Minister, but is in charge of the President and the Reporter of the Commission. The latter is a most important

personage. It is his function to write an essay on the subject of the Bill, called a report, which, in the case of an important measure, attains colossal proportions. Thus, during the passage of the Separation Bill through Parliament, the Minister of Public Worship played only a minor part, while the Prime Minister of France took practically no part at all, actually never opening his lips during the long debate in the Senate of which he is a member."

M. Aristide Briand's voluminous report is mainly occupied with the quarrels between the kings of France and the Papacy. He then reviews the history of the Concordat, and of the relations between France and the Papacy since its signature, discusses the position of the Church in other countries, and concludes with an exposition of the Bill itself, and of the principles underlying each separate clause. This statute, which became law last December, and applies to the Protestant and Jewish Churches as well as to the Catholic Church, begins with the declaration that the Government guarantees liberty of conscience and of public worship, subject to the provisions of the Act, whilst it in no way recognizes nor subsidizes any form of religion. All state, departmental, and communal subventions for public worship are to cease on January 1, 1906, except in the case of chaplains in schools, colleges, hospitals, prisons, and other public institutions.

Then follows the famous third clause, which provides for taking an inventory of all ecclesiastical property—the clause which has led to such commotion throughout France. Within a year from the passing of the Act all movable and immovable property of the "menses" and "fabriques" must be transferred to the "Associations

Cultuelles," or associations for public worship. That property which in the past belonged to the State, the departments, or the communes, is to be given back to its original owners, with the exception of those pious endowments which have been created subsequent to the Concordat. Ministers of religion who are sixty years of age, and have been for thirty years in the pay of the State, are to receive a life-pension of three-quarters of their salary, whilst those who are forty-five years old, and have been salaried by the State for twenty years, receive a life pension of 60*l.* a year. This affects, to some extent, some of those highly-paid Protestant pastors who have hitherto received 120*l.* a year; but it is particularly hard on the archbishops and bishops of the Catholic Church, whose salaries have amounted to 600*l.* and 400*l.* a year. Those ministers of religion who are not qualified for these pensions are to receive subsidies on a much smaller scale.

The cathedrals, churches, and chapels are left gratuitously at the disposal of the associations to be formed under the Act; but episcopal palaces, presbyteries, and seminaries are only granted rent-free for two years, when all these buildings will revert to the State, the department, and the communes. Further arrangements may, it is true, be made then; but this must depend on the goodwill of Governments and of local authorities. The "Associations Cultuelles" are to consist of residents in the parish; and their membership ranges from seven to fifteen or twenty-five, according to population. They may raise funds by subscriptions, collections, and fees, and may distribute whatever surplus they possess to poorer associations. Their accounts are to be audited; but the amounts of their accumulated funds are strictly limited by a scale

proportionate to their revenues. Beyond these there are other provisions of a general character. Religious instruction may be given, out of school hours, to children between the ages of six and thirteen. Libellous or provocative utterances in churches are punishable by fine and imprisonment. The budget of public worship, which in 1905 amounted to 1,700,000*l.* a year, will, after the expiration of life-pensions, be divided among the communes of France for the alleviation of taxation.

Such are, roughly speaking, the provisions of this new measure, which, nominally at least, gives full liberty to the Catholic Church in France, and emancipates the Jewish and Protestant communities from all connection with the State. As Mr. Bodley observes, with some truth:

"For the first time since the French people became a nation, the Pope is the absolute master of the bishops and clergy of France. Gallicanism, long declining, has received its death-blow; and Pius X himself sang its solemn obsequies on Quinquagesima Sunday, when, in his basilica of Saint Peter at Rome, he consecrated the first batch of fourteen non-concordatory bishops, forming one-sixth of the entire French episcopate, being, it is said, the largest number admitted at one time to the pastoral office since the Day of Pentecost, when it was conferred on twelve overseers of an unestablished Church."

These words, notwithstanding their possible exaggeration, indicate a great gain to the Catholic Church in France for, whatever may happen in the future, the Government can no longer legally object to the appointment of able and independent men as archbishops and bishops of the French Church, and can no longer advance

the claims of those in whom they expect to find willing and subservient tools. The intrigues of ambitious men, ready to sacrifice their religious and political principles to secure the support of the Government, will, at least for the present, be of no avail. Rome need not negotiate any more over vacancies, or consent to the nomination of inefficient men in one or two instances so as to secure the consent of the Government to a good appointment in the third instance. The bishops are allowed free intercourse with Rome, and may go thither as often as they like. They may meet to discuss matters regarding the welfare of the Church, and even choose the subject of discussion without any interference on the part of the State. They will no longer be government officials salaried by the State, and may so far succeed in their appeals to the faithful on religious grounds.

Taken by themselves, these are great and substantial advantages. The question is, how long will the Church be left to enjoy them in peace? The Radicals and Radical-Socialists are in their hearts a *bourgeois* party, who dread a progressive income-tax and look askance at the programme of the Socialists. In their anxiety to divert attention from these dangers they may at any moment recommence their attacks upon the Church, and, by insisting that the Government shall exercise some control over the nomination of bishops and others, rob the Church of all the liberty she has acquired under the new law. Then, again, others argue that either the priest will not be free, or the State will not be master. The clergy may also, now that they are free, throw themselves into politics. This will not be wise on their part; but they may argue that, having ceased to be government officials, they have acquired all the rights of free citizens. As we have

pointed out, libellous or provocative utterances in churches are punishable by fine or imprisonment. This provision may be abused and extended.

Past experience also makes one sceptical with regard to the future. Recent years have witnessed a marked evolution in the administration of the Associations Law. M. Waldeck-Rousseau undertook that it should not be applied to teaching or authorized orders, and that authorization should be granted to unauthorized orders if they made out a good case. These pledges were broken by M. Combes both in the letter and in the spirit. Therefore French Catholics ask anxiously with regard to the future—how soon the liberty they have gained will degenerate into persecution; how soon the State will again insist on having a voice in the nomination of bishops, of vicars-general, and even of parish priests; to what extent the auditing of the accounts of the "Associations Cultuelles" will be carried; how long they will be allowed to enjoy the free use of their churches; and how much of their property acquired since the Concordat, and even since the passing of this Act, they will be allowed to hold free from all State interference.

This is, however, not their only grievance. The new law, even if fairly administered, contains a great element of hardship. The budget of public worship, which amounted to 1,700,000*l.* last year, was not an act of grace but a measure of compensation. Before the outbreak of the French Revolution the tithe alone brought in 3,200,000*l.*, or nearly double the income secured to the Church under the Concordat. Beyond this there was the annual income of the Church and the revenues secured by endowments, the product of legacies and gifts made by pious founders, which were appropriated by the State

or sold by public auction. The budget of public worship was the result of a clear and definite bargain between Church and State. The purchasers of Church property were to be freed from all interference and guaranteed security in their possessions; but the State was to give the Church some measure of compensation, and this compensation was to be the budget of public worship.

This contract has been ruthlessly broken by the State; and, except for a few terminable pensions, the clergy will be absolutely dependent upon the faithful. This may be no great hardship in the large towns, or in those rural districts where there are rich and charitable landed proprietors, or where the people are religious and the churches full to overflowing. But such cases are the exception and not the rule. Indifference and apathy in religious matters are now frequently to be found in the French peasant, who, however, often has a friendly regard for his parish priest, though he may not frequent his church except on great occasions. Even in these cases the lot of the disestablished and disendowed priest will not be so hard, as he is sure to get some compensation from his neighbors for what he has lost; but there are many parishes, especially in the center and in the south of France, where the priest's salary from the State represents almost all his income, where baptisms and even religious marriages and burials are the exception, and where the churches are empty on Sundays and holidays of obligation. The position of these incumbents will be pitiable in the extreme. In a short space of time the incomes of those who have not held office for twenty years will come to an end; and they will be left either to starve on the spot or to depend upon whatever miserable pittance may be collected for them elsewhere. Their

churches will be closed. Past experience has shown us how little prospect there is for the development of other religious teaching than that of the Catholic Church in many parts of France; and we anticipate the disappearance of all positive religion from these parishes.

A great deal must depend upon the decision of the Papacy with regard to the constitution of those "Associations Cultuelles" which will be empowered to take over and administer Church property, and are authorized to distribute their surplus amongst the poorer parishes. There are rumors that the bishops have appealed to the Holy See to accept the law and to work it for the best; but this is not known for certain. The decision of the Supreme Pontiff must be fraught with the most serious consequences. On the one side it is argued that these associations may, in due course, become as wealthy as the Church was under the Concordat; and that the liberty which they enjoy under the law may, if liberally interpreted, give them great power for good. On the other hand, it is contended the Government is not to be trusted; and that the acceptance by the Church of these associations will be used against it. The necessities of the political situation may also force the Radicals to anti-clerical legislation with the object of uniting all sections of the Left and of distracting public attention from other matters. Then, again, those who do not wish the Pope to recognize the "Associations Cultuelles" maintain that in their hearts the people are really religious, and that they will never understand to what separation may lead until the churches have been closed, the priests forced to officiate in secret, and religious persecution is in full swing.

Strange to say, it was one of the fairest provisions of the law that first roused popular hostility to its adminis-

tration. Some members of the Opposition realized the danger of transferring all the property that remained to the Church from the "Conseils de fabrique" to the "Associations Cultuelles" without an inventory; and an amendment to this effect was adopted with the consent of all parties. The Socialists wished to see the law administered before the general election. They therefore insisted on the enforcement of this clause before the rules were ready and published. The idea got abroad that this was done to make confiscation easier in the future. There had also been a series of attacks upon religion; and these attacks had left a good deal of bitterness behind them. Moreover, it was the first practical evidence of the existence of the new law; and it provoked an outburst of indignation from one end of France to the other. The peasant might not be a regular churchgoer, but his Church had witnessed the most important religious events in his own life and in that of his forbears. It was part of his property, and he resented any interference with it on the part of Government officials. The opportunity was also an admirable one for a political demonstration. The elections were imminent; and it was hoped that the unpopularity of these inventories would react against the Government in the polling-booths. There were demonstrations in the most unexpected quarters. The most irreligious communes were often the most hostile. Matters culminated when, at Boeshoppe, a man was killed; the whole question was brought before the Chamber; and M. Rouvier was compelled to resign.

From this moment the fate of the Conservative party was sealed. M. Dubief, the Minister of the Interior, an honest and conscientious fanatic, made way for M. Clé-

menceau, one of the ablest and most unscrupulous members of the "Bloc." Had M. Dubief remained in office, the Government would not, in all probability, have interfered very much with the elections. A zealous *préfet* might here and there have exerted himself to the utmost on behalf of the Government, but he would not have been encouraged from above to adopt extreme measures. This was not M. Clémenceau's policy. He was the last resort of the "Bloc." It was his duty to win the general election; and he was determined to do so at all costs.

His first step showed great wisdom. The inventories, which had roused so much ill-feeling, were stopped by a circular to the *préfet* wherever they were likely to lead to disturbances. A general uprising of the trade-unions, accompanied by a universal strike, was expected on May 1; and it was anticipated there would be fighting in the streets of Paris. The Opposition press encouraged this idea; and several timid householders fled from Paris across the frontier. There were strikes in the north of France and in the arsenals; houses were burnt; and those workmen who wished to fulfil their contracts were subjected to the most extreme forms of intimidation. The mining districts of the Nord and of the Pas de Calais were in a state of anarchy. M. Clémenceau showed great tact and firmness in the face of all these difficulties. Soldiers were sent to the disaffected districts in large numbers, but with strict injunctions to show themselves as little as possible. Their conduct was admirable, showing the greatest forbearance in the most trying circumstances. Paris was a center of military activity. Fifty thousand men were quartered in the streets, and its houses were provisioned as if for a siege. One householder introduced trout into his bathroom and another

admitted cattle and sheep into his garden to provide against emergencies. Hams and preserved meats were also purchased in large quantities. The first of May came and passed without any appreciable disturbance anywhere. Confidence in the Government and in its power of preserving law and order was established. This was M. Clémenceau's second triumph; and it was all the more complete as the Opposition press had anticipated disaster both in Paris and in the country.

The course was now clear for the general election. The Government had much to fear. The inventories had been most unpopular; and the Socialists were decidedly discontented. Even the ministerialists expected a loss of some thirty or forty seats. They did not believe in more than that, for the Government holds all the trump cards in its hands. It is the source of all favors and the fountain of honor. A commune wishes for a new road, a railway, a bridge, or a canal. Its prospects are very much enhanced if it has steadily voted in favor of the Government. A hostile commune knows its chances of favorable consideration are very small. Again, there are said to be some 681,000 government officials in France. Each one of these must be a canvasser, or at least vote for the Government of the day. Promotion is usually the reward of the zealous officials. There are constant vacancies in these posts, which are filled by the nominations of the local party-hack. The *préfet's* power is, moreover, omnipotent, for he is the channel through which all recommendations reach the Ministry of the Interior. He is represented in the *arrondissements* by *sous-préfets*, and in the communes by *délégués*, who keep him in touch with all that goes on. The *fiches* had materially increased his power; and the terrorism that

runs through the whole government service is a strong factor. Each official knows that everything he says and does—even, as some fear, his most secret thoughts—will in due course reach the ears of the authorities. They therefore must at least appear to be ministerialists.

This feeling necessarily permeates the whole of the civil service, and inspires not only the official, but those who depend upon him, to support the Government. Nor is this all. The right to sell stamps and tobacco is regarded as a great privilege in a small commune, and goes by favor. Moreover, the Frenchman dearly loves a decoration. The Legion of Honor, the *mérite agricole*, and the *palmes académiques*, though originally destined for those who had earned them in their respective spheres, are now too often given as rewards for political work, or withheld from political opponents. It is therefore not astonishing when a Government survives disgrace or disaster; the miracle is when it is turned out of office. Some constituencies are, it is true, still anti-ministerial; but this may generally be assigned to laxity on the part of the local authorities, or to the presence of a wealthy candidate or resident who can do more for his constituents than the Government can; in some cases, no doubt, it is due to strong political feeling.

On May 6, 1906, the parties met at the polling-booths. On the Opposition side were ranged, first, the "Action Libérale," led by M. Jacques Piou and Count Albert de Mun, which includes Royalists and Bonapartists who have remained staunch, or who have, in obedience to the Pope, rallied to the Republic. They represent those Catholics who protest against the whole policy of the "Bloc," its treatment of religious orders, and the separation of Church and State. In some cases its representatives did

not make much profession of devotion to the Church. For instance, one of the candidates for Carcassonne said: "They accuse me of being a clerical—me, Pendariés, who never drag my knees over the flags of a church, but protest from the bottom of my heart against delation, sneaks, informers, and Freemasonry." Next came the Nationalists, the outcome of the Dreyfus agitation, a body of men recruited from all parties, who put national defence in the forefront of their programme, and regard M. Doumer, the former Governor of Indo-China, and M. Gauthier de Clagny as their leaders. Finally, the Progressist-Republicans, men of moderate Whiggish views, the remnants of the old country party, organized by M. Méline, and strongly opposed to anti-clerical legislation. Their most prominent leaders are M. Ribot and M. Renault-Morlière.

On the other side were ranged the Republicans of the Left, a party of eighty-three members founded by those moderate Radicals and Republicans who left the Progressists under M. Waldeck-Rousseau. They cover a wide range, some having followed, before the formation of M. Sarrien's Ministry, M. Poincaré and M. Barthou, who represent the moderate elements in the Cabinet, whilst the more Radical section followed M. Buisson, M. Berthelot, and M. Rabier. Next came the Radicals, ninety in number, who are not easily distinguished from the Radical-Socialists, 119 strong. They have, in fact, since 1901, fused their organization with that of the "Radical and Radical-Socialist party," and adopted a common programme. If a distinction were drawn, we should say that the Radical-Socialist inclines to state monopolies more than the Radicals; but they are a *bourgeois* party,

and will not tolerate state ownership of the means of production.

The Socialist party were, in 1902, split up into two sections—those who advocated the presence of M. Millerand as the Socialist hostage in M. Waldeck-Rousseau's Ministry, and those who wished to preserve their independence of all *bourgeois* parties. They have been united since April, 1904, under the name of "Socialistes Unifiés." M. Jaurès has now adopted the Collectivist programme in its entirety, and severed his alliance with the Government. The old distinction between "Blanquiste," "Allemaniste," and "Guesdiste" has disappeared; and all socialists of these various sections are united under the leadership of M. Jaurès, whose action is however carefully watched by his rival, Jules Guesde, a fanatical and conscientious socialist of the old school, who has returned to the Chamber as deputy for Roubaix. Outside the "Socialistes Unifiés" are the "Socialistes Indépendants," who call themselves by many epithets, such as "Républicain," "Patriote," "Anti-Collectiviste," and belong to the same party, but are scattered over all parts of the Chamber. Some indeed, like M. Millerand, were supported by the Nationalist party, and were therefore regarded as absolutely outside the pale of M. Jaurès' followers.

The result of the general election was a complete triumph, all along the line, for the supporters of the Government. The "Action Libérale" have suffered less than any other section of the Opposition. They have fallen from 84 to 78, showing a net loss of six seats. The Nationalists, whose *raison d'être* is no longer what it was in 1902, have fallen from 53 to 30; whilst the

Progressists have, through their very moderation in a fight between extreme views, fallen from 95 to 66.

On the other hand, the Republicans of the Left have increased their numbers from 83 to 90, while the Radicals have risen from 96 to 115, and the Radical-Socialists from 119 to 132. The "Socialistes Unifiés," who at the first ballots only held their own, have now increased from 41 to 54, whilst the "Socialistes Indépendents," who were previously only 14, are now 20 strong. It is, then, with the Radicals that the future of the new Parliament lies. With the assistance of the Republican Left they can form and maintain a Government which shall be absolutely independent of the Socialists on the one side and of the Right upon the other.

This majority cannot be regarded as fully synonymous with popular sentiment. We have already referred to the extent to which an election can be prepared by the Minister of the Interior and the organization at his command. The peculiar machinery by which the will of the people is ascertained in France also tells in favor of the Government of the day. In the first place, the ballot is not, strictly speaking, secret. The ballot-papers are not ready-made with the candidates' names printed upon them and space left for the necessary cross. The voter either secures a slip of paper on which the candidate's name has been printed, or he writes it himself. This paper can be so marked that the presiding officer can identify it and ascertain who has voted and how he has voted. The votes are counted in each village or ward, and not in the chief town of the constituency. Identification is therefore a comparatively easy task. The stuffing of ballot-boxes is also extremely common, as has been proved, amongst other cases, by the Lodève election pe-

tion. Thus, at St. Felix-de-Lodez, 151 votes were recorded from a total of 125 names on the register. In another commune 91 voted where there were 80 names on the register. In a third commune 320 voted, and yet there were only 300 names on the register. The validity of an election is determined by the Chamber; and it is therefore not surprising that M. Pélisse is declared duly elected for Lodève (Hérault) by a majority of 400 to 69.

Similar scandals have occurred in many other constituencies. Thus, in 1902 there were more votes recorded at Carmaux, in the Tarn, than there were names on the register. Moreover, when the electors arrived, they found that the mayor and his bureau had taken possession of the polling-booth before the legal hour; and it was strongly suspected that the interval had been devoted to stuffing the ballot-boxes. The Marquis de Solages wished to take every precaution on this occasion. His friends therefore determined to watch the proceedings, and arrived on the spot a few minutes before the legal hour, 7 o'clock in the morning. When the mayor arrived he refused to declare the poll open, and shut himself up in his own house, though all he was asked to do was to allow two of M. de Solages' supporters to see fair play. It was only when the troops arrived, and he could clear the polling-booths of all hostile elements, that the polling began. M. de Solages' friends were allowed to be present at first; but, when they tried to find out how many of the voters were on the register, they were summarily expelled by the troops. They were afterwards readmitted, but kept in a corner of the room, and refused leave to take any notes. Although the legal hour for closing the poll was 6 o'clock, it was kept open until 11.40 in the evening. M. de Solages had some fifteen counters ready to see fair

play, but they were refused admission; whilst the whole counting was placed in the hands of some fifty supporters of M. Jaurès, the Socialist candidate.

Such is the story told in the Chamber by Baron Amédée de Reille. It may or may not be true; but the evidence in its support is overwhelming. Baron de Reille did not ask to have M. Jaurès' election invalidated, but only for an inquiry; and this inquiry was refused by an overwhelming majority. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that a greater number of petitions are not presented. No member of the minority has any prospect of succeeding in an election petition. It is often argued that no member of the "Bloc" who has secured a smaller majority than five hundred is legally elected. This is possibly a gross exaggeration; but, until the control of the Chamber over election petitions is abolished, and these matters transferred to independent tribunals, we have no opportunity of gauging to what extent the majority really represents the wishes and aspirations of the people.

Other elements have doubtless helped the "Bloc" to secure their victory. The Catholics are very much divided and split up, some believing in resistance to the utmost, others thinking that the country is sick of the question and ready to submit to the worst for the sake of peace. Again, the Opposition is by no means united on social reform. Some believe they can never rally the democracy to their side until they show their earnestness on their behalf, whilst others are afraid to deal with such dangerous questions. It is not easy to know what France really wants. The situation is most complicated, and is beyond the comprehension of most Frenchmen. Thus, the inventories had aroused the most violent oppo-

sition in many parts of France where the electors have always supported anti-Catholic deputies. Peasants who usually voted for the Radical candidate came out in their hundreds to protest against any attack upon their Church. In one village no less than eighty-eight made their wills before resisting the authorities; and yet, when the general election came, the Catholic candidate hardly received any support in that very village.

This want of logic and consistency has been explained by ignorance and by Ministerial pressure. These two factors may have great weight, but they are certainly inadequate to account for the overwhelming victory of the Government. The peasant has remained a Catholic by tradition and by sentiment. He may even believe in his inherited faith; but he sees no connection between his religious convictions and his vote. In one village of Savoy the mayor sings every Sunday in the choir and goes regularly to the Sacraments, but he always votes openly, as a delegate, for the Radical senator. Why this inconsistency? There is no denying it—the peasant distrusts the Catholic candidate, be he Royalist or Republican. In the first place, he can do nothing for him; he can neither secure for the district the railway or the road it wants, nor obtain for the voter's son the place of road-mender or postman he desires. Besides, the Catholic candidate is usually supported by the *château*; and the peasant believes his interest is antagonistic to that of the *château*. As a Burgundian peasant said recently to an eminent political economist who had property in his parish: "Listen to me, monsieur, and I will speak frankly to you. We like you, and my father was your father's tenant. If you really want our help, you have only to call upon us, and it is yours. But do not ask me to vote

for your candidate. What do you expect? We belong to the people, and must support the candidate the people want—the man who will pass laws in our favor.” It is for this reason that some French Catholics are strongly in favor of their party adopting social reform as part of their programme.

In fine, we may sum up the situation by saying that, beneath all the apparent indifference, there are far more Catholics in France than people think. If ever persecution were to become acute, if the churches were to be closed, this would become clear to the world, but, until this extreme is reached, the voters will not give their support to a man who does not thoroughly understand their wants and requirements. M. Sabatier, who relies on reform from within the Church, may perhaps expect too much when he looks forward to a new Catholicism, “in which earnestness, hard work, manliness, love will be the supreme virtues, a Catholicism which will resemble the old no more than the butterfly resembles the chrysalis; and yet it will be the old, and will be able to-morrow to emblazon on the pediments of its temples the words of the Galilean, ‘Non veni solvere sed adimplere’ (‘I have not come to destroy, but to fulfill’).” But those who know France well, who have mixed with the people of all classes and of all parties, are by no means despondent of the future. They know how uncertain it is, how it is always the unexpected that happens in France. The children of the Revolution produced the great Catholic movement of the thirties and forties; and their children again, educated under the “loi Falloux” in Congregational schools, are the authors of all this anti-clerical legislation. The future is therefore uncertain, full of possibilities for good and for evil; but underneath

it all there is that toiling, laborious France which works quietly and unostentatiously. It is in this France that all hope for the future must lie. The unexpected may therefore be awaited with some measure of confidence; and it will probably come when the casual observer has given up all hope of its realization.

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**The Evaporation of a
Billion Francs**

The Evaporation of a Billion Francs



M. WALDECK-ROUSSEAU some time ago made a great ado about the billion with which he would replenish the empty coffers of the workingmen's pension fund, a fund so enormous and so difficult to maintain.

A colossal operation, this handling of a billion! It is easy to mention such a sum, but to give an adequate idea of its magnitude is quite another matter. For this reason let us compare it with the five billions war indemnity of ever painful memory. Sent by rail from Strasbourg to Germany after our misfortune of 1870, the five billions, if paid in 20-franc gold pieces, would have represented, in metal alone, a weight of 1,612,900 kilogrammes, and its transportation would have required 161 cars one-half loaded to the maximum of 10,000 kilogrammes, or a dozen ordinary trains composed of fourteen or fifteen cars. But, as yet, we have not seen the three trains that would be needed to transport the billion to its destination—the coffers of the workingmen's pension fund.

On the contrary, the first fragments of this famous billion are to be poured now into the coffers of the liquidators and agents connected with the "colossal operation," who take turns in enriching themselves with the spoils of the outlawed congregations. Protected by the authorization of the law, they unscrupulously rob the unfortunate *congréganistes*, who are accustomed to being imposed upon, and are powerless to defend themselves.

Five years have elapsed since the liquidation was begun, and the total amount at present advanced to liquidators by the public treasury, and that beyond all control, reaches nearly six millions—six millions for which the treasury has no security!

This liquidation of suppressed congregations presents a twofold aspect.

On the one side the liquidators' expenses are increasing, and on the other the misery of the despoiled *congréganistes* is daily augmented. The victims have been promised pensions and other assistance out of the remaining assets of the congregations, but they are receiving none because the liquidation is still in progress, and, to consummate their ruin, after the liquidator has finished his work, their property is often sold for a mere song.

Eventually also there will be nothing left for the workingmen and tax-payers who were allured by the hope of participation in the billion.

Two great volumes, each containing several thousand pages—statistics given according to departments and to congregations up to January 1, 1900—distributed in Parliament, are supposed to present the fortune of the congregations in real property.

The congregations of men have about 30,000 members, and those of women 130,000, making a total of 160,000, but it must be remembered that their property, whose value is set forth in these volumes, is not of benefit to the communities only, but chiefly to the poor and suffering.

That the treasury has put a very liberal valuation on this real estate goes without saying.

After the table made out according to departments,

there is an appendix comprising "forgotten congregations." But as nearly all of these figure in the general table, they form a useless repetition; yet they help to swell the number. Thus, after the property, which is nominally that of the congregations, there appears in the table the property of private individuals, either isolated or associated, but which the Government suspects of belonging to congregations; lastly, the property is catalogued which is simply occupied, that is, rented by congregations or by private individuals reputed to be *congréganistes*; property belonging to municipalities and occupied by congregations pursuant to very old contracts. To include the house rented by a person in his or her fortune has heretofore been unknown; however, this is precisely what the official document does, and hence the figure reaches 1,071,000,000.

Of this figure there are, in all, 463,750,000 francs in the name of congregations: property which the State itself authorized them to acquire. Then we find: 48,000,000 owned by proprietors armed with regular titles but whom the State, without, however, giving a reason, pleases to consider "intermediaries"; 75,000,000 which the report says to be the property of civil and commercial societies; 295,740,000 francs—a handsome figure, to be sure—of which the nature and origin are absolutely undetermined, and which must, therefore, be taken on faith; lastly, 217,000,000 of property occupied by congregations but which even the report itself does not claim to belong to them. There remain from 850,000,000 to 860,000,000 obtained from private property and that of real estate associations and Protestant societies, from the value of which must be deducted 206,000,000 in mortgages.

The liquidators are in absolute possession of the real

property of the congregations, hence nothing prevents them from converting it into ready money; but although they sell, they cannot pocket the price as they are confronted by laws which they are obliged to respect. Most of the real estate of the congregations is, as we have said, encumbered with heavy mortgages, which absorb its value; and as these mortgages have been taken out as regularly and legally as possible, it is certain that those who have given their money in exchange for the most solid guarantee known to our civil code, make and will continue to make the most of their claims as mortgage-creditors at the time of sale. Hence they are the only ones, or about the only ones, according to the order of their registration, to acquire the amounts spent by purchasers.

Therefore the leading mortgagees will reap the benefit of what escapes the treasury, which was so dishonestly eager to satisfy popular greed by scattering the *congréganistes'* billion.

The liquidation of the property of congregations, undertaken all over French territory, will last for years; for probably a decade to come. Begun five years ago, it has not yet run a long race, nevertheless it is rich in surprises. At present there are lawsuits everywhere; in the tribunal of the Seine, in all the tribunals of France and the colonies. All claims made by an individual or a society presenting itself as owner of the property detained by the congregations, are resisted by the liquidators; they uphold the intervention of persons, the law must be invoked. All reprisal claims made by a donor who seeks an advantage in this same intervention of persons they also resist, obliging him to resort to law. Thus will litigation be long drawn out, and as we know, lawsuits are

expensive affairs. The total outlay for suits and liquidations has already reached a very considerable amount. Part of these enormous expenses is paid by the litigants, but the greater part is advanced by the treasury, in all of which, of course, the tax-payer is interested.

Besides, there are the prodigious expenses for the sales and proceedings ordered. When, after being duly authorized the donors have taken back their property, and what is reclaimed by its owners has been restored to them, what becomes of the billion? Does the really profitable remainder go to the owners awaiting it? No, before them fly the hornets who will sip all the honey—the grasping agents and liquidators; they and they alone are not duped by this colossal mystery.

Meanwhile, the unfortunate Brothers and Sisters who have been promised life pensions are left in deepest misery, exposed to the slow tortures of hunger.

Here is an instance of the way the lawyers are batten-
ing on the prey: An attorney in Saint-Flour allowed himself 300 francs for an interlocutory judgment for which the usual fee is but 30 francs. For another case he charged 1,650 francs whereas, for similar services, a less avaricious lawyer would have been satisfied with 100 francs! Thus in these two cases which occurred in Auvergne the State has disbursed nearly 2,000 francs, and the liquidator has realized nothing.

"Lawsuits have been carried to excess in certain places," says M. le Prevost de Launay, "particularly in Ploërmel, because it is the seat of large institutions, and for the slightest legal formality, even any kind of stamped paper, in fact for a mere nothing, lawyers are sent from Paris.

"I dare not mention here the size of the fees paid

them . . . but I have been assured that when a lawyer goes from Rennes to the province on the liquidator's account, he receives 500 francs.

"A lawyer who sent his secretary from Paris to Ploërmel for the same liquidator's account received a fee of 900 francs."

At Saint-Brieuc, the convent of the Franciscan Fathers, recently put up for sale, the buildings of which cost over 70,000 francs, did not even find a purchaser at an upset-price of 72,000 francs, to which might be added 2,406 francs for publishing expenses and 20,349 frs. .30 claimed by the liquidator; 20,349 frs. .30 for a liquidator is a figure to set one thinking!

An example of how lawsuits are multiplying may be found in the case of the owners of property rented to the Brothers of the Christian Schools and occupied by them for purposes of free Christian teaching:

"The law exacts a claim against the liquidator. This is a legal monstrosity, as an owner has nothing to claim while he remains undisturbed in his possession, and should only defend himself when attacked. He would have no occasion to defend himself against the liquidator unless the latter dare say that the lessee should expel his landlord. This is obvious; but the absurdity of this claim against the liquidator counts for little, as neither legislators nor liquidators can boast of honesty, common sense or even sincerity.

"For instance, in France, the Brothers of the Christian Schools occupy about 1,200 of these rented establishments, which means that there are to be 1,200 lawsuits. The common law provides that these suits concerning the ownership of real estate should be decided by the nearest court, but to spare the liquidator any inconvenience a special law was

enacted declaring that such suits would all be decided at his domicile. A second absurdity! So much the worse for the honest men, who will have to submit to inconvenience simply to defend themselves against a robber. In many cases the liquidator does not even dream of maintaining that the Brothers were ever owners. Hence the suit is merely a matter of form. And who is to bear the expenses? This is a matter of no small importance, as even when possession founded on the right of ownership is not contested, these expenses cannot be estimated at less than 450 francs a suit, and for 1,200 suits the total would be 540,000 francs. Four solicitors are employed: one for the liquidator against whom the claim is made; one for the individual owner and plaintiff; one for the congregation involved (in the case to which we now refer these three solicitors are from Paris); and finally a fourth solicitor for the account of the individual owner if the latter be a solicitor from the department in which the estate is situated. Naturally the liquidator declares that the question does not interest him. But forced by evidence, he submits on condition that suit be brought."

"These liquidations," says *L'Action*, a newspaper which cannot be accused of clericalism, "are conducted in a most whimsical and arbitrary fashion: and if M. Briand so wish it, we can enlighten him abundantly on the abuses practised by liquidators who, with utter shamelessness, resort to means which are at least censurable, such as transfers and loan of questionable legality. But this is not surprising, it is no more than human; liquidators are well paid. Up to the present time they are the ones who have reaped the largest harvest from the enforcement of the law of July, 1901.

"It is only natural that they should seek by every

means possible to have the 'sweetness long drawn out.'

"Shrewd and grasping litigants, these liquidators know every nook and corner of the law's labyrinth. For instance, if they are dealing with a legal heir who claims, authentic documents in hand, the part assigned him by law in the reapportionment of the property in liquidation, they drive him into a jungle of litigation whence he cannot emerge perhaps for months.

"It is all to their advantage as, during that time, their remittances are constantly accumulating and at length attain enormous proportions."

But there is another side to the question, that brought to light by Senator Le Provost de Launay, viz.: the pensions for old *congréganistes*. M. Groussau had vehemently criticized the operations conducted with perfidious slowness. "How many sham suits," wrote he to M. Poincaré, "have been entered and maintained merely to enrich the liquidators and, incidentally, their secretaries, lawyers and solicitors! And, meanwhile, in this philanthropic age there are religious, men and women, in the most abject misery.

"In fact, when, by virtue of a law, you have seized certain property, thus depriving of their means of existence men who used such property legitimately, you owe them an indemnity, under pain of dishonesty and theft.

"But you do not pay this indemnity set down in your law.

"And when we make a request of the Minister of Finance, the Minister of the Interior or the President of the Council in behalf of an old *congréganiste*—such as I have just made for a Brother at Ploërmel who, aged and infirm, was living on help provided by his congregation—we are told: 'Wait till the liquidation is finished and the situation will be examined.'"

As another example, let us mention the case of the Filles de la Croix, in Finistère, whose house is sold and paid for. The poor, aged, infirm Sisters begged assistance from the liquidator, but he turned a deaf ear. Then, too, here are the Brothers at Ploërmel, who are well known here in the departments of Brittany. All the houses of their order have not as yet been liquidated, and the proprietorship of some houses claimed alike by the owners and the liquidators has not yet been determined. Is it just that whilst awaiting the issue of such long and complicated transactions, the parties interested should receive no assistance? It is barbarous to have taken away from the sick and invalid Brothers their cows, fire-wood, etc. They will all be dead before the end of the liquidation of the property of their order, and will the liquidator wait till then to declare that they have no further need of anything?

Again there are the Ursulines of Tréguier. The liquidator did his work. The property was put up for sale and the city purchased it for the sum of 55,000 francs; its buildings having cost about 400,000.

In this institution were religious who were doing good work instructing children; religious who, when entering the community, had brought their fortunes with them. They were dispersed, and among their number, sixty-eight in all, were several septuagenarians who either belonged to poor families or had no family at all; these were dying of hunger.

"I had several of them," said M. le Provost de Launay, "taken into almshouses, where they now come under the head of paupers, and, stripped of their habits, are living like the most ordinary of the inmates."

The liquidation of the Convent of the Sisters of the

Incarnate Word, Limoges, has borne disastrous results for the religious.

The property sold brought 5,320 francs.

The expenses of liquidation, including the	
taxes paid, amounted to.....	2,707 frs.
The liquidator allowed himself by way of	
recompense for his care and trouble...	2,600 "
The Sisters will share the remainder, which is	13 "
<hr/>	
Total	5,320 frs.

Many *congréganistes* have left French territory.

And what heartrending details might we not add concerning the Carmelites and other exiles who are starving to death in Belgium and elsewhere! While their sacrifices, merits and tears, offered in expiation of our sensuality and passion for luxury, plead efficaciously with the Heart of God for the redemption of Christian France, should they not likewise increase our respectful veneration?

It now remains for us to examine how the over-valued property of congregations is sold. Very often the sales are almost mock affairs, but not so when the Communes are the purchasers, as then it is the tax-payers who pay.

The inquiry we have made concerning the sales of the last four years has brought forth many interesting results, and the information which has been furnished by accurate correspondents, usually defenders of the interest at stake, defies contradiction. We shall give a separate place to several of the principal estates destined to disappear and to a few of the congregations with regard to which we have obtained the required information. And, in order to present the result of our investigation in clear

and palpable form, we shall give a table containing, according to departments, a brief description of the property sold, its official valuation, the approximate cost of lots and buildings, the auction price and new appropriation. (We give here a few excerpts from the bill which will be found in its complete form in the *Correspondant* of August 10, 1906, from which these extracts have been taken.)

Departments.	Real Estate Sold. (Brief description.)	Official valuation.	Approximate cost of lots and buildings.	Auction price.
		FR.	FR.	FR.
Ain.	<i>Ars</i> : Brothers' House (1)...		35,000	2,025
	<i>Thoissey</i> : Ursulines' House.	48,100		14,025
	<i>Trévoux</i> : Ursulines' House (la Sidoine).....	145,200	850,000	80,200
	<i>Bénonces</i> : Carthusian House des Portes.....		60,000	5,000
	<i>Serrières</i> : House owned by Carthusians		10,000	5,000
	<i>Lagnieu</i> : School of Brothers of the Cross of Jesus ...		60,000	17,000
	<i>Belley</i> : Marists' House....		80,000	60,000
	<i>Belley</i> : Mother-house of the Brothers of the Holy Family.	179,880		10,000
	<i>Belley</i> : Domains of the same Brothers	74,600		20,000
	<i>Belley</i> : House of the Bern- ardine Sisters.....	213,140		6,000
	<i>Moulins</i> : Building—School of the Congregation of Notre-Dame. (Augustines)	477,520	850,000	185,000
	<i>Digne</i> : Real estate belong- ing to the Missionaries of Notre-Dame de Ste. Garde..	25,000		2,200
Basses-Alpes	<i>Nice</i> : Building School of the Ursulines.....	500,000	500,000	455,700
	<i>Nice</i> : Patronage St. Pierre founded in 1875, Profes- sional school and classical education, the Salesian Fathers	500,000	550,000	200,110
Alpes-Mari- times	<i>Roums</i> : Mother-house of the Sisters of St. Joseph.....	185,500	250,000	30,000
	<i>Aix</i> : Real estate of the Fathers of St. Pierre-ès- Liens	218,000		64,425
Bouches-du- Rhône.	<i>Marseille</i> : Buildings and lots of the Dominican Fathers...	455,000		242,260
	<i>Marseille</i> : Buildings and lots of Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament	256,000		136,500
	<i>Marseille</i> : Lot belonging to the Sisters of the Holy Name of Jesus.....	220,000		63,925

One of the properties confiscated is the Grand Chartreuse, about which a few remarks may not be amiss:

Built upon ground generously donated in 1084, for the greater part by the seigneurs Miribel, the Grand-Chartreuse, which was the victim of eight conflagrations in 1320, 1473, 1509, etc., was rebuilt in the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through offerings sent from all countries. When reconstructed by Dom Innocent Le Masson, in 1688, it had 110 religious, both Fathers and Brothers, and a staff of 140 servants, a number that can readily be explained when it is remembered that everything in this desert had to be transported on pack-mules. The visitors privileged to admire this group of buildings, truly monastic in appearance and remarkably well preserved since the time of their erection two centuries ago, are spellbound, and carry away with them an indelible impression of the slate-covered monastery composed of a long corridor onto which open cells that are well separated from one another and destined for the Father officers, and, intersecting this first structure, at a right angle, the huge main building, with four pavilions for the priors and strangers.

The great Revolution was comparatively slow about demolishing the foundation of Saint Bruno. Just as our present congregations hoped up to the last moment, so did the Carthusians in the beginning of the twentieth century. Entirely aloof from the world, receiving no news, instinctively led to a favorable judgment of men and things, deeply attached to their vocation, identified, so to speak, with their desert and their cells, the Fathers could ill brook the idea of leaving their solitude and did not understand how men inoffensive as they could be persecuted—men whose sole occupation was praying to

God and doing untold good throughout the surrounding country. The following is an account of the inventory of that glorious epoch given by Dom Ephrem Coutarel, an eye-witness:

"In 1790, inventory of our personal property was twice taken, the second time with the utmost stringency; everything was noted and the church plate was carried off. On the 31st of October a member from the district, accompanied by four policemen, came to claim half the money in the Procurator's safe, and with the 36,000 francs counted out to him he loaded one of our pack-mules."

The decree of the National Assembly of August 16, 1792, ordering the evacuation of all religious houses, was carried into effect in the Grand-Chartreuse on the 14th of the following October. The religious were going to Matins and singing Mass that day as usual, when suddenly books were closed, voices were hushed, and, for the first time since 1084, the cloisters of the Grand-Chartreuse ceased to resound with praises of the Lord. The Reverend Father-General, Dom Nicolas-Albergati de Geoffroy, left the monastery October 17, 1792, and, after seven centuries, there disappeared the order founded of old by Saint Bruno. Whilst the last inhabitants of the Grand-Chartreuse suffered or died in prison, bells were stolen, crosses mutilated and, in 1799, over a hundred of the monastery pictures, among them *The Life of St. Bruno*, were taken to the museum at Grenoble. The Order was finally re-established July 8, 1816, and their establishment is again seized by the Government.

The importance of its buildings, land and manufacture is well known, also the fact that its profits were nearly all devoted to works of faith and charity.

This is how the liquidation of this estate ended. The property was divided into three parts.

Part 1st. The trade-marks.—On the 31st of last June the Chartreuse trade-marks were auctioned off at the civil court of Grenoble for 501,000 francs. Now, in 1897, these same trade-marks were assessed at 10,697,500 francs, and 270,000 francs were collected from L'Abbé Rey. Under the liquidator the trade-marks have depreciated to about 10,600,000 francs.

Part 2d consisted of the mountains for grazing, and found a purchaser at 47,000 francs.

Part 3d, put up at 80,000 francs, elicited a single bid of 100 francs.

Then came the putting up at auction of the three parts at the sum total which they had brought, namely: 628,100 francs, such a sale being declared indispensable.

A bid of 1,000 francs brought the complete purchase price up to 629,100 francs, and the purchaser was M. Cusenier, the large liquor-dealer. Therefore the Carthusians' millions, like the *congréganistes'* billion, so lately promised by M. Waldeck-Rousseau, will henceforth be but a reminder of the most barefaced of political brigandages and the most audacious of the mysterious proceedings with which M. Edgar Combes, one of the dauphins of the régime, had been associated.

The newspapers of Isère vied one with another in their accounts of the affair. It is already a well-established fact that the liquidation of the Carthusians, once the law expenses will have been paid, will leave nothing. Indeed, we may consider ourselves fortunate if the treasury will but call on its funds and spare us poor taxpayers the defrayal of part of the expenses of the proceeding whereby Dauphine is deprived of one of the

chief elements of its prosperity, a thriving industry which, owing to blind sectarian passion, is transferred to a stranger. And yet, the political charlatans made the public believe that the departure of the Monks of St. Bruno would open up to the neighborhood a veritable gold mine. There remains to tax-payers, as a shred of consolation and a souvenir of the liquidation of the Carthusians, the hospital of Saint-Laurent du Pont, which they may support out of their savings, till such time as they seek admission therein for the cure of their credulity. Ah! but this liquidation has been lucrative for certain plunderers, who have cut out for themselves the lion's share of their victims' spoils.

Another instance is that of the celebrated convent of the *Abbaye-aux-Bois*, Paris, which definitely auctioned off on the 26th of last April, disappeared after an existence of two and a half centuries.

The property on the Rue Plumet—which, in 1851, became the Rue Oudinot—placed at the disposal of the Brothers of the Christian Schools by the city of Paris, and occupied by them from 1847 to 1905, comprised General Rapp's mansion purchased by him in 1805 and an adjoining lot on which stood some old ruins. In all there were about 15,000 metres. By thus favoring the Brothers' Order, the city of Paris made good its promise of 1817, when it called the Brothers of Saint-Yon from Lyons to Paris and gave them the Dubois house in the Faubourg Saint-Martin. When, in 1846, the property of the Faubourg Saint-Martin was condemned for the building of the Gare de l'Est (railway station), the city of Paris purchased the Rapp mansion and adjoining ground and the Brothers went thither.

This new installation of the Brothers of the Christian

Schools was far from being invested at that time with the importance it has since assumed. The old Rapp mansion, built in the second half of the eighteenth century, consisted of a main building set back from the street, which was entirely inadequate for the performance of the extensive services which the Brothers' rule exacted of them, above all because of the rapid growth of the congregation in France and abroad. First of all it was necessary to transform the actual structure and then to build, and thus it was that there appeared successively on the Rue Oudinot, the Boulevard des Invalides, and in the garden parallel with the Boulevard, those huge buildings, severe in style yet perfect in taste which, if put in a straight line, would measure 400 metres in length. We could not exactly estimate the cost of rearing these establishments, but it certainly exceeded a million.

It was there in that quiet neighborhood, quiet when compared with the agitation of gay Paris, in the midst of a large, tree-sheltered area where even yet the atmosphere seems noticeably clear and pure, that, for more than half a century, the fruitful activity of the Brothers of Saint-Jean-Baptiste de la Salle had full play. It was thence that it spread throughout France, its colonies and all civilized countries for the advancement from a Christian standpoint, of popular teaching. It was there that the influence of these good Brothers was relentlessly exercised for the benefit of France, which they had taught numberless generations to know, to love and to respect.

And to-day Free-Masonry withdraws the price of these services and banishes the Brothers from their schools. On June 12, 1905, after the vicissitudes of a long suit, the Court of Rouen rendered a decision according to

the terms of which the Brothers of the Christian Schools were compelled to relinquish, within four months, the property on the Rue Oudinot, in the city of Paris. A law dated July 26, 1906, promulgated the transfer of the ministry of the colonies from the Pavillon de Flore, to the communal property of the Rue Oudinot.

The Department of Charente-Inférieure has so far been singularly spared. M. Combes has defended the congregations against liquidation just as he defended them against laïcization and the closing of their schools. No congregation of women has left Rochelle; in fact there is one devoted to the care of wayward women which is still subventioned by the General Council, of which M. Combes is the chief ornament. The friendship of a great man is a boon from the gods of contemporary paganism!

Out of revenge the liquidators are letting some of the estates in l'Orne go to rack and ruin; as, for instance, the ancient convent of the Redemptoristines at Argentan, the Institution Sainte-Marie at Tinchebray and boarding-schools of the Religieuses de l'Education Chrétienne at Echauffour and at Gace.

Our tables mention twelve estates of dispersed congregations in Seine alone, which were sold from February 1, 1902, and the list was made up out of over 3,000 auctions. It may be incomplete, and indeed, was not easy to procure. The case of the religious of the Congrégation de Marie Réparatrice calls for separate mention on account of the long-continued oscillation of Themis's scales.

The liquidator clashed with the civil societies which declared themselves owners of the convents occupied by these religious, and, after various legal difficulties, these

societies were summoned before the tribunal of Nantes, the liquidator's tribunal. They numbered four: the Society of the Rue de Naples for the Paris house, the Society of Aquitaine for the Bordeaux house, the Society of the Reunion of Nantes and a few other houses, and the Society of the Rue de Paris for the house in Rennes. The case was pleaded at Nantes in the month of July, 1905. The Society of the Rue de Naples at Paris won its suit, but the others lost. The real estate of the Rue de Naples, which is worth more than a million, was given personally by the Riant family, which had also formed and organized the society and thus had every right to reclaim the property. All these cases were lately appealed to the Court of Rennes, and M. Devin sustained the interests of the Society of Paris while M. Marcille fought for those of the Society of Rennes. The court rendered its verdict the 19th of last June, and all the societies lost their suits, even that of Paris! The court declared that, according to the terms of Article 17 of the law of 1901, there were presumptions showing these societies to be the intermediaries of the Congrégation de Marie Réparatrice: these societies did not disprove these legal presumptions which, being accurate and concordant, established the mediation; consequently, the court declared them null and void, like all the transactions, and non-suited their claim. Here, then, are estates worth several millions about to fall into the liquidator's power and to be sold at auction. At what price will they be knocked down? Probably at hardly the value of the ground on which they stand. When will they be sold? Well, it is hard to say, as, besides the appeal to the Court of Cassation, there have appeared the claims of old owners against the liquidator, which will still

further retard the progress of the law. Surely this will not complete the liquidator's billion.

The Monastery of Sénanque was founded in Vaucluse in 1148, and the church, cloister and other buildings erected in the second half of the twelfth century still exist and constitute one of the most beautiful and best preserved monuments of the monastic architecture of that epoch. Sénanque soon became an abbey, and for several centuries was rich and flourishing, but in the eighteenth century it was in utter ruin. In 1792 abandoned by its few religious, it was sold as national property, and although neither the purchaser nor his children did anything to degrade it, they did naught to repair it nor to arrest the ravages of time. They would not sell it for profane purposes; but, in 1854, they willingly parted with it for the price of 30,000 francs, the purchaser being a priest of the diocese of Avignon, the Abbé Barnouin (Rev. Père Marie-Bernard), who there established a community of Cistercians and made repairs and extensions at a cost of over 100,000 francs. His work prospered. Sénanque once more became an abbey, and its religious went forth to occupy the abbeys of Fontfroide, in Aude and of Hautecombe, in Savoie. In 1872 the Abbé Barnouin left Sénanque and went to restore the abbey of Lérins, where he died in 1888. A new abbot governed the religious of the Abbey of Sénanque, who was forcibly expelled in 1880 but returned in 1888. However, the law of 1901 condemned them to disperse and the liquidator assigned to adjust their affairs sold Sénanque and its appurtenances at the court of Apt.

The general outline that we have submitted to our readers establishes the evaporation of the famous billion.

But why is it that the congréganistes' real estate sells so

badly? Doubtless many of the buildings that have cost them a high price are ill adapted to other than congregational uses, but this does not explain the contemptibly low prices at which they are disposed of. How is it, for example, that two comparatively new chapels at Nancy forming part of the property of the Dominicans and the Sisters of the Holy Heart of Mary, respectively, each of which must have cost at least 250,000 francs, were sold only to be demolished, for about 2,500 francs apiece!

There is for this a very serious reason at which our enemies are inclined to smile, but which nevertheless reflects general discredit upon their transactions. The most severe ecclesiastical censures which many Christians take very earnestly, strike the purchasers of religious property. The public conscience, which is even more exacting than the Church, attaches eternal opprobrium to the fortunes founded thus on speculations in stolen property. The Concordat was able to obliterate these shameful contracts; but they have not been forgotten by men of honor, and even to-day many a charming young woman finds it hard to marry because her grandfather has left her a dowry accumulated through the acquisition of Church property. In the eyes of all who have a conscience, the property of which the most virtuous and charitable Frenchmen are to-day being deprived has been stolen, and therefore in honor cannot be touched.

The comparatively restricted number of sales made by liquidators during these four years may be explained by the fact that until now, many congregations have profited by their mixed character in seeking authorization.

Finally, many liquidations are brought to a close because of the insufficiency of assets.

Nor does this make up the billion anticipated by the perfidy of M. Waldeck-Rousseau when he made France ring with the cry of war against the congregations and religion, and claimed to have found in religious communities the billion that was to endow the workingmen's pension fund.

That was in 1889. The law that dispossessed the chief among these communities is that of 1901, and, after five years of this legalized plunder—where are we?

There is no billion: it has evaporated!

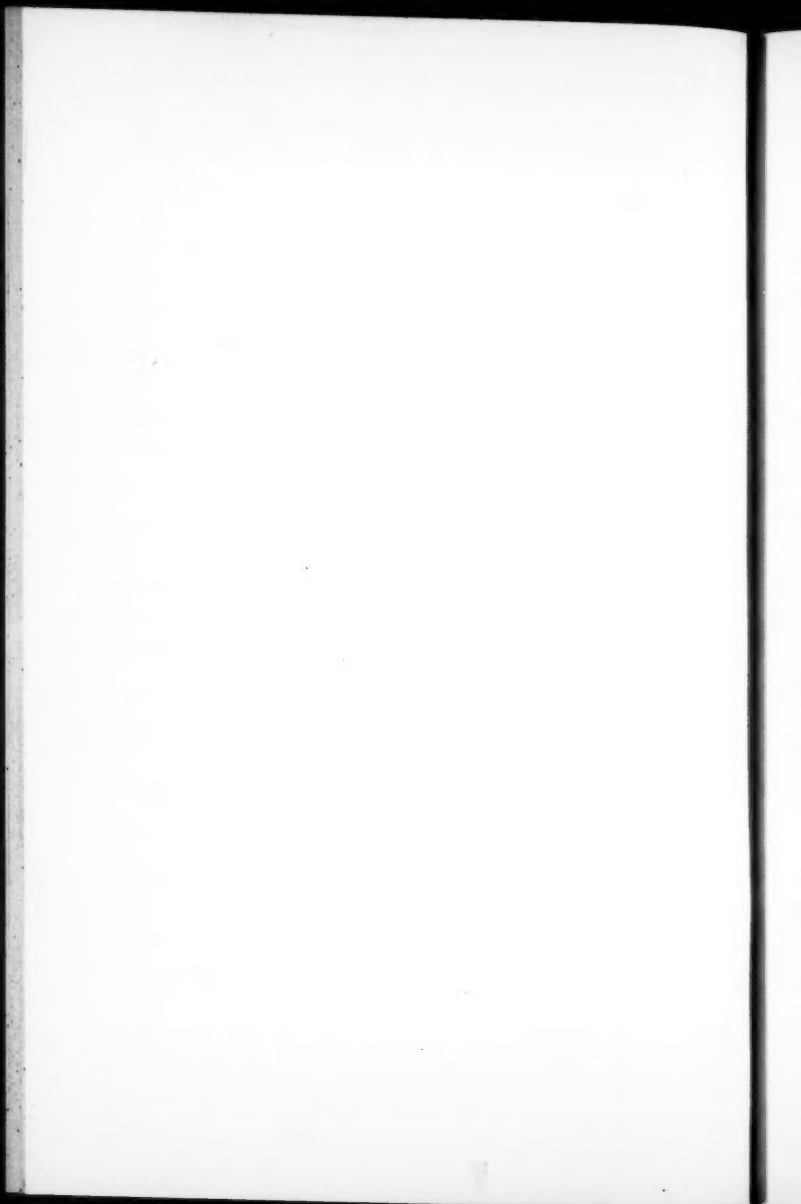
It is important that the country know by what audacity and imposture it has been deceived. In order to relieve the aged and infirm we must resort to new *crédits budgétaires*; the tax-payer must again go down into his pocket to defray the expenses of dispersing religious congregations and of robbing Christian institutions.

We shall be on the alert to see what the "*bonnes occasions*" will be which were denounced by M. Clémenceau to his prefects.

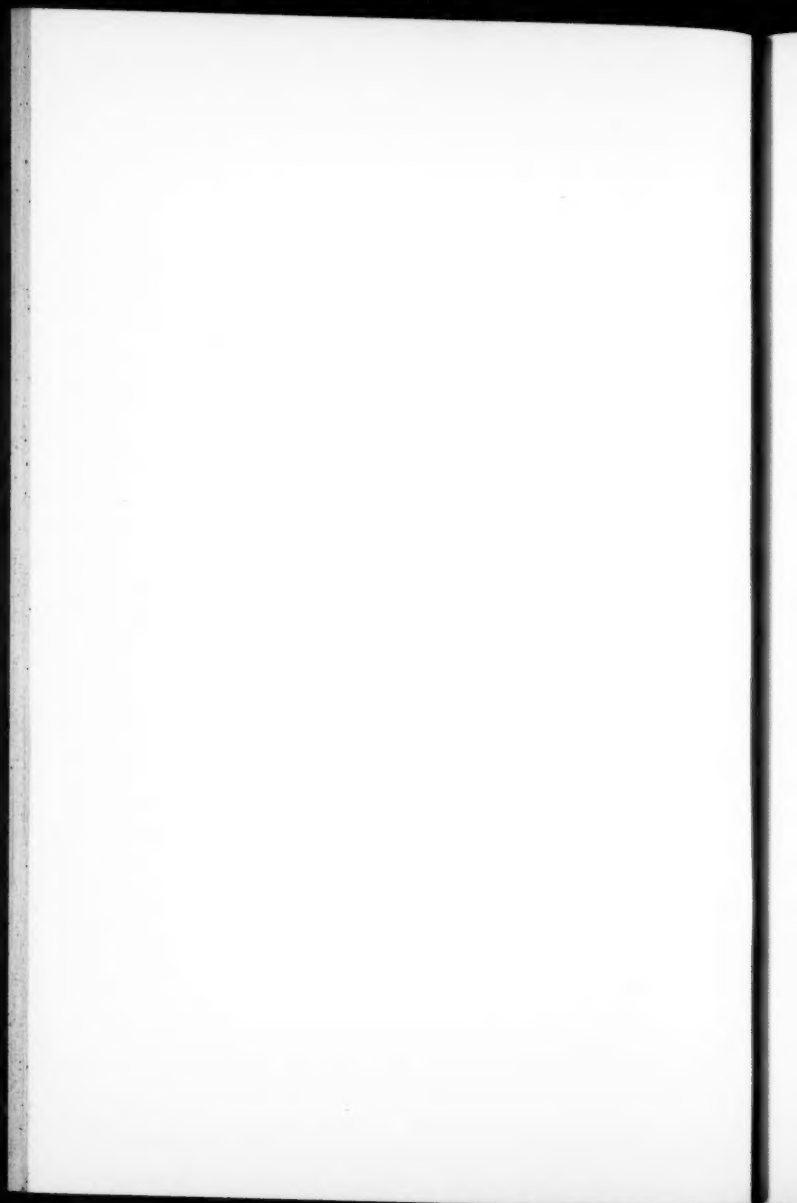
Extract from the article "La Volatilization d'un Milliard."

BY FENELON GIBON,
Correspondant

AUGUST 10, 1906.



**IS SOCIALISM RIGHT
AFTER ALL?**



IS SOCIALISM RIGHT AFTER ALL?



Acta Leonis XIII. Seven vols. Tournai: Desclée, Le-fevre.

The Wealth of Nations. By Adam Smith. Edit. Mac-Culloch. 1863.

Die Frau und der Socialismus. Von A. Bebel. Tenth Edition. Stuttgart. 1891.

Socialism and Society. By Ramsey Macdonald. The Socialist Library. London. 1905.

To deal effectually with any widespread opinion we must treat it sympathetically, have felt its attraction, have distilled from it the soul of goodness which it contains, above all when we find ourselves in controversy with the spokesmen of poverty.

Now the spread of socialism among Catholic workmen is a grave anxiety to many of our priesthood in the manufacturing districts, and the arguments in favor of socialism are much stronger than many of its opponents suppose.

Thus to the common objection that socialistic schemes could not in real life be made to work because of the insuperable difficulties in assigning employment and remuneration; this might apply, it is answered, to crude, violent, instantaneous schemes, but not to gradual or Fabian

socialism, which in orderly fashion would withdraw capital more and more from private hands, and concentrate it more and more in public hands, till after much experience and preparation the transfer would be complete and collectivism installed almost imperceptibly. Further, is it not mere narrowness and prejudice to say that universal State or municipal industry could not be carried on, when we remember that much is carried on in England at this hour which to the theorist in Aristotle's day would have seemed impossible, such as industrial and domestic service without slavery, or representative government that allows participation in the commonwealth to be spread over hundreds of thousands of square miles instead of being confined to a single urban district? Again, in reply to the charge of being immoral and irreligious, with doctrines destructive of family and Church, it may be answered that these doctrines, though taught by many socialists, are taught with more virulence and less excuse by many others besides socialists, and that, as the readers of the April number of this Review will remember, the anti-socialist Clémenceau is a more rabid atheist than the socialist Jaurès. In any case, these doctrines, it can be pleaded, are no part of the essential programme of collectivism, merely superfluous tenets having no necessary connection with collective organization and control. Or are we gravely to say that because a man advocates the change from the present individualistic private delivery of letters in China to a collective imperial postage throughout that empire, he is therefore an immoral atheist? What, again, is to hinder a further evolution of socialism in a religious direction? For if the violently hostile attitude of Marx and Bebel is giving place in Germany to a comparative neutrality that leaves

religion alone as a man's personal concern (*Privatsache*), why not hope for a further step, and for the recognition of religion as a help toward the peaceful working of any commonwealth; a God-fearing and moral collectivist government being just as possible as a God-fearing and moral king or parliament under existing individualism? Again, if the Catholic workman is told that socialism was condemned by Leo XIII, he may be taught to reply that precisely private property is what is secured by scientific socialism, and that it was not scientific socialism which Leo XIII condemned, only the abuses of violence and communism; indeed, that by their efforts to universalize private property, to endow the present mill-hand and farm-hand and slum-dweller with their own house and home, goods and garden, to put an end to usury, monopoly and the ruthless warfare of rival traders, the socialists are the true pupils of Leo XIII, and that his true opponents are the receivers—many perhaps unwittingly, but still the receivers—through the manifold channels of rent and interest, of profits flowing from sweated labor, from slum dwellings, from extortionate prices, from foul wares, from fouler drink-shops and houses of debauchery.

Further the socialists, pressing forward to the attack, may tell us that we are antiquated and that they are alone in harmony with the facts of modern industry and the spirit of modern science. For it is they who claim to carry to its logical conclusion the tendency of modern business toward concentration and integration seen in vast institutions like the American Trusts, or the Shipping Combines, or great distributive stores like "Harrods'" in London or the Bon Marché at Paris. And if they have grasped the true significance of the change

from competition to coalition, the socialists claim to have grasped the analogous change, set forth by evolutionary science, from egoism to altruism: the brutal battling for wealth and power, akin to the struggle for existence of beasts and plants in the jungle, being transmuted by gradual development to universal friendly service and organized remuneration.

Finally, the arguments current against socialism may be triumphantly cited as a confession of its truth. The supporters indeed of the present order of work and ownership may perhaps disclaim responsibility for popular arguments.⁽¹⁾ But their case is made no better, if they keep to the arguments of professional and professional economists. For they meet a distressing dilemma. Either the economists fail to see the real difficulty and real point at issue, which is not the existence of private property for personal use, but rather the indefinite extension and accumulation of wealth in the hands of a single individual by employing the labor of others. (For example, even so great an authority as Professor Marshall gives us no clear explanation or valid defence of this process of accumulation, which is the very head and front of offending attacked by Karl Marx.) Or else the economists see the real issue all too clearly. For example, Adam Smith, in the eighteenth century, looks at the process with cynical amusement and takes it for granted; while a hundred years afterwards, when some justification of "unearned income" was called for, the late Dr. Menger, of Austria, whose competence none will

(1) Perhaps typified by the work, first published in 1893, by W. H. Mallock, entitled *Labor and Popular Welfare*, and advertised as "a handbook for all public speakers and other disputants who desire to meet and expose the fallacies of socialism."

gainsay, could find no better justification than the bare ground of legality, the mere fiat of positive law.

"The pound of flesh 'tis mine, and I will have it;
If you deny me, fie upon your law!
There is no force in the decrees of Venice;
I stand for judgment."

But who can endure such a justification or can refrain from the retort that if positive law has the power to establish property, it has equally the power of disestablishment? And in our own time by the easy methods of progressive income-tax and progressive death-duties our rulers can legally transfer all income and power from individuals to the community. The plea of legality is a weapon of defence that breaks to pieces in our hands.

Obviously then the matter before us is not simple but complicated. We need something more than mere negation, some ideal that may outshine the brilliant future depicted by socialism, if we would satisfy ourselves and convince our opponents.

Here it may be said that precisely in Christianity is the ideal we require, and that Christianity gives us an effective answer to socialism. In a sense this is true, but not in every sense; and like many another statement of truth requires much guarding and explanation, lest we be dazed by it instead of being illuminated. For the word Christian is ambiguous; and there are those who call themselves Christian Socialists, and declare that Christianity and Socialism are more or less identical. Take, for example, the discussion in the *Labor Leader* of 1905 on "The Church and Socialism" and the following statement of the Rev. Percy Dearmer, Secretary of the London Christian Social Union:

"This is the great thing to remember. We are only partly Christianized. That is why there is not more socialism among Christians. Every Christian, layman or parson, is still half-baked—is only partly true to the Christian ideal. The exceptions to this are the saints—those few poor souls who in every generation become like Christ. But the saints and all the Christian Fathers have all been what we should now call Socialists." (1)

Nor is Mr. Dearmer a solitary example; he can claim a long descent from Apostolic or sub-Apostolic times; and we can trace a chain of those bearing the Christian name who have upheld socialistic doctrines, such as the Ebionites of the first century, and later the Carpocratians, whose doctrines, with the revived wealth and civilization of Europe in the eleventh century, were renewed by the Poor Men of Lyons and the Albigenses, continued by the Fraticelli and in the popular French verses of Jean de Meung and the Flemish of Van Maelant, and later by the Lollards and Anabaptists; and lastly, when the industrial and political revolutions of the eighteenth century had again awakened the social question, were renewed once more, especially in England and Germany in the various forms of Christian Socialism.

But Christianity and the Christian Church have never been synonymous; and a ring of independent doctrine more or less alien and hostile has ever surrounded, and is ever likely to surround, her long march through the centuries.

Now precisely the historical Church has been hostile to socialism, has all along preached submission and obedience, has recognized, by her very effort to sanctify it,

(1) Reprinted in the *Daily News*, September 11, 1905.

the distinction of wealth and poverty, of master and servant; and far from the saints being "what we should now call Socialists," the Church has persistently ejected from her body those who taught terrestrial equality and counseled social revolt. And though none have denounced injustice in the acquiring and handling riches more vigorously than the Fathers of the Church, following the Hebrew Prophets before them, any reasonable examination of their works, regarding context and circumstance, will disclose the gulf that separates their teaching from those who make the ownership of great estates and the rule over many servants *ipso facto* an iniquity. St. Basil and St. Chrysostom in Greek, St. Ambrose and St. Jerome in Latin, denounced the avarice and harsh dealing of the rich, warned them of their duty to share their goods with the poor by deeds of charity, and declared that God was the one real owner of all things. But they neither taught nor dreamed that the emancipation of slaves should be made compulsory, and that property should be transferred by law from the individual to the State or from the rich to the poor. Indeed the very merit of manumission and almsgiving was that such deeds should be free.(1)

Now, as the core of this article, let me urge against socialism that the sum and substance of its failing is its being unhistorical; man as he appears in history is one thing, man as represented by socialism is another. As far as authentic records take us back, as far back as some

(1) The claim of socialist writers and orators to annex the Christian Fathers has been met by Father Desjacques in the *Études Religieuses* for 1878, and more recently by Father Capart, in a work crowned by the Brussels Académie Royale in 1897, *La Propriété Individuelle et le Collectivisme*, pp. 485-501. On the prophets, see Dr. Franz Walter, *Die Propheten in ihrem sozialen Beruf*. Freiburg i. B. 1900.

forty centuries before Christ, we find in all civilized societies the double feature of service and inheritance; that is, we find not merely the simple accumulation of furniture, jewelry and other means of display or enjoyment, but the complex legal and social arrangement whereby land and other sources of permanent income are in private possession, families form an undying corporation, transmitting their heritage from one generation to another, and the vast majority of men, whatever their legal status, are working *de facto* for others. The possible objection of a primitive time, with no ownership of land except what was public or communal, we can brush away. For, even if we admitted this dubious historical theory as proved, it would be irrelevant; we are not studying the character of ownership and society among the Scythians of the time of Herodotus, or the Gauls of the time of Cæsar, or the Germans of the time of Tacitus, but the conditions of civilization, where there is an orderly civil power, urban arts and crafts, science and literature, and a national life, not the mere loose aggregations that may lead to it. And to find private ownership and service, and family incomes of great variety, from penury to abundance, as the inseparable companions of civilization through six thousand years is sufficient ground to declare such companionship a necessity, and socialism therefore an illusion.

Nor can the statement that civilization is artificial and the suggestion that we should return to the natural be allowed. For have we forgotten Burke's description of a "natural aristocracy," or his words:

"The state of civil society, which necessarily generates this aristocracy, is a state of nature, and much more truly so than a savage and incoherent state of life. For man is by nature reasonable; and he is never perfectly

in his natural state, but when he is placed where reason may be best cultivated and most predominates. Art is man's nature. We are as much, at least, in a state of nature in formed manhood as in immature and helpless infancy." (1)

It is civilization then that is natural; whereas to return to the conditions of rude simplicity would not be natural, but artificial.

Nor will I admit the charge of being narrow and prejudiced like the classical Greek theorist, who, could our present conditions of government have been advocated in his time, would have declared them impossible. For he had before him only the scanty experience of a single civilization ill-recorded during a few centuries, while it is from many centuries and wide experience and trusty records that we can gather our induction.

But do not the socialists themselves appeal to history, and, following a biological theory of evolution, trace the gradual ascent of man from bestial origins through savagery and low grades of civilization to the heights that are yet awaiting, as their coping stone or crown, the collectivist commonwealth? Indeed, at the first glance this explanation of all history, this discernment of an order in the seeming chaos, has the charm of an illumination. But the charm is broken by inaccuracy; for the historical theory that Marx set forth so brilliantly, even when amended by modern writers, (2) cannot endure the test of detailed facts; an automatic upward progression in moral character is inconsistent with them. As early as we can get in touch with it, human nature appears no

(1) *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*, Works, III, p. 86.

(2) As in Professor Seligman's *Economic Interpretation of History*. New York, 1902.

other than human nature of to-day. Then on all sides we can trace signs of external degeneracy as well as of advance, and know for certain that civilization has again and again reverted into barbarism. We can trace the morbid growth of vice in Greece from the better times of Pindar to the worse times of Polybius; and in Italy from the exemplary *mores* of ancient Rome to the cesspools of Juvenal;⁽¹⁾ while the slave-code of Babylon under Hammurabi is humanity itself compared with the slave-code of Rome under Augustus some two-and-twenty centuries later. Indeed, if there is an upward tendency in man, there is also a downward tendency, a trend toward depravity (*der Hang zum Schlimmen*); and the solid fact remains that as the actual present issue and climax of a whole series of civilizations we meet the appalling conditions of life in great centers like London, Paris, Berlin and New York. But if man is as socialism says he is, such conditions as the result of evolution are unintelligible.

It is not, therefore, in this theory of history that we can find our illumination. It will come rather if we recognize the supreme need of learning the distinction between the constant and the variable in the course of history, and the presence both of the upward tendency and of the downward. Then we may search profitably for some guiding principle or criterion, illuminative and accurate, that will enable us to take an intelligible survey of the facts, make an intelligible selection among them, arrange

(1) One part of this process of moral decay and of heavier-growing economic oppression can be traced in the first chapter of the late Mr. Greenidge's *History of Rome*, 1904. His testimony, based on documentary evidence, is all the more striking because he has no clue to the cause of this moral decline, and seems to share the conventional and undocumentary disesteem of uncivilized man.

them in an intelligible order, and never land us in any contradiction with the detailed record of fact. Whether apart from the Christian Revelation and the implications of the Gospel any such historical criterion can be found, is not our immediate point, but rather that it is not found in the socialist theory of history. Whereas, if we accept the Christian view of human nature and the external world, there is no need for us to distort the facts of history in the direction either of pessimism or optimism; we shall have a criterion for distinguishing what evils are the inevitable concomitants of civilization, and what can be removed without plucking up civilization by the roots. Then we shall understand that private capital is inextricably intertwined with civilization; that to equalize for every one the opportunity of gaining wealth and power is to weaken energy, because limiting to the individual the prospect of advancement, and removing the motive to strive for the permanent advancement of family or friends. Nor shall we forget that moral frailty is not caused by indigence or cured by affluence, and that the passions of man, which have their issue in the seven deadly sins, would be at work whatever the social and political conditions.

It was pointedly remarked by Sir Henry Wrixon some ten years ago that the Statutes of New York and the Chinese system of government appeared perfect on paper; but that men mattered, not paper; and that the men in neither place were perfect.⁽¹⁾ And more recently Lord Goschen has expressed a kindred truth:

"The socialist 'ethical' man is an hypothesis just as the older economic man was an hypothesis. I am afraid that the one hypothesis will find as little its counterpart

(1) *Socialism*, 1896, p. 264.

in this world of ours as the other hypothesis, and if the economic man is a monster, the ethical man, as pictured by the socialists, is an angel who will not walk on this terrestrial globe." (1)

In a word, the socialist theory is not humane and historical, but unreal and doctrinaire. Were men the perfect beings the theory supposes, collectivism would be no injury to home or to nation or to religion; it would work admirably, only it would be entirely superfluous. For on the same utopian supposition our present inequality would produce results no less admirable; all our slums turned into Port Sunlights or Bourneville, our factories familiar with the sounds of prayer and praise, our country folk sitting each man under the Northern equivalent of his own vine and his own fig tree. And hence the collectivist commonwealth has to face the dilemma of being either unworkable or unneeded.

This doctrinaire and unreal character of socialism is seen in its treatment of family life. I am not speaking of the fact that socialist writers are in frequent agreement with a school of anthropology which upholds bestial origins of marriage and family; for the opponents of socialism are tarred by the same brush. The point is that in civilized society the socialist theory is incompatible with historical, and still more with Christian family life.

Here we may expect an emphatic repudiation of the charge, and the indignant *tu quoque*, that precisely under the capitalist régime decent family life has been made impossible for the larger half of the population—family life indeed with the tenement house as the home and the gutter as the playground. Is it not precisely the happy

(1) *Essays and Addresses on Economic Questions*, 1905. Introductory Notes.

advent of collectivism that will secure to every family a genuine home? For it is only the means of production that are to be held collectively *pro bono publico*; while to each separate household are assigned their own house and family goods, and within the sacred enclosure of the family the enjoyment of these means of consumption. Or are we still so obstinate in misunderstanding as to persist in confusing the dreams of communism with the sober programme of scientific socialism? Or are we deaf to the eloquent words of Mr. H. G. Wells, that "Love, home and children, these are the heart-words of life." (1)

Confronted with such a turning of the argument, though not confessing its validity, I confess to a sense of shame, because I am sorrowfully mindful of the famous article on the housing question by the late Lord Salisbury, in 1883, with the agitation it aroused, the striving after reformation; and mindful also of the actual conditions more than twenty years later of the parish of Wapping, within a brief mile of the world's financial center, as though an impenetrable veil covered the evil. Before attempting, therefore, to meet the bitter retort of the socialists, it is indeed urgent that all who claim the title of Christian should attempt to make impossible such dwellings and such drink-shops as those of Wapping; and, before speaking against the socialists, should have themselves in some way worked in the cause of social reform. Let those also be ruled out of court who for many years, in divers way, have waged war against the Christian family, and have spread the pestilential evils of Malthusianism and divorce, so that the "heart-words of life" are failing amid great sections of the people in France and North

(1) *Mankind in the Making*, p. 9. 1903.

America and even in England, yielding their place to lawless passion, transitory households, sterile unions. It is not for the teachers of these things to cast stones at socialism, or to take scandal at the notorious work on "Woman" written by the socialist champion, Bebel. Rather let them reap as they have sown, and remember that it is such as they who have made such as him both possible and plausible.

Then indeed we can enter the court with cleaner hands and declare that, though we may have been slack in carrying out our principles, the principles themselves are a sound foundation for family life, while those of socialism are a quicksand. Not merely would the Christian home be engulfed, but the family life of all healthy human races—Hindoos, Chinese, Japanese—whatever is good in nature being preparatory for the gospel and a substratum for grace. For if the collective providence is substituted for the paternal; if the official, not the father, becomes the provider; the community, not the family, the unit of income; then the very well-spring of energy and of self-control is dried up, namely, the desire to provide for wife and children, to shelter them from evil, to raise them to better conditions, to be their earthly Providence. And where the father and husband is stripped of the duties that are his salvation, his children in their turn are stripped of their filial duties to their parents, of their fraternal duties to one another; whether they dwell together in unity or not becomes of no account; the delicate attention to sick and weakly members, the very field where man is seen at his best, is no longer needed; the old maxim, "Blood is thicker than water," becomes meaningless; ancestral renown and the honor of the family will be no longer words to conjure with; the salt that kept

domestic relations from corruption will have lost its savor; and the socialist community, for all its protestations, will have assumed the forbidding shape of a gigantic foundling house.

This is the fatal blot on the socialist escutcheon; and to plead that the shields of others are not unsullied is but the sorry justification of a copartnership in guilt. Whatever the doctrine of others may be, theirs is demonstrably antagonistic to the Christian family, and thus cancels the chief item in the happiness of the human race.

Finally, socialism is unreal and unhistorical in being cosmopolitan. For nationality is a natural growth, a mysterious principle of social cohesion, difficult to support by explicit argument, but yet, from the experience of sixty centuries of civilization, a postulate of welfare. But if all men are to be equal in the sense of being given an equal opportunity of temporal advantage, and our aim is the "emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex," (1) it follows that all nations must share alike, no special advantage being reserved for any of them. It is easy to repeat the formula that all capital or productive goods shall become the property, not of individuals, but of society; yet difficult or impossible to prevent the word society meaning the whole human race and forcing us to throw into hotchpot the unequal earnings of Americans, Englishmen, Italians, Russians, Hindoos, Negroes and Chinese. Why differentiate continents, or affront the principle of equality by privileges according to a man's domicile or complexion? The "white man's burden" is simply to equalize the black or brown or yellow man's burden with his own; and we are forced onwards to the

(1) *Socialist Standard*, November, 1905.

necessity of an all-world State if we would escape an all-world anarchy.

In a word, the socialists have failed to see that their doctrine is a parasite; it presupposes antecedent to itself the very organized commonwealth and the social virtues that it will afterwards destroy. For the very notion of organism implies permanent inequalities of function, power and dignity incompatible with socialism; and the lasting existence of a commonwealth rests on the prevalence of a solid family life to which socialism, as we have shown, is antagonistic; and the very brotherhood of man, the very philanthropy and altruism that socialism presupposes in its adherents, are only reasonable on the base of a common Fatherhood of God, and a common need and fact of Redemption—doctrines inconsistent with the socialist contempt of "other-worldliness." Indeed, mere natural science, physical or historical, leads to no tenderness or reverence to those whom we can no longer call our brothers in Christ; and the cultured mind emancipated from the wholesome superstitions of the Japanese or from the illuminating presuppositions of Christianity, is likely, far from being moved to compassion, to judge mankind as painted by Juvenal or Zola, and to feel for them, as for the Yahoos in Swift's cynical allegory, only abhorrence and contempt.

Our case, indeed, as yet is only half completed; for no one is convinced by mere negation, and if the plausible structure of socialism is only a house of cards, where is any solid structure in its place? Even a paper roof is better than none.

The objection is fair; and if the present answer is but scanty, the limits of space, not of material, must be the excuse.

The first point is to emphasize that neither in fact nor in theory is the choice before us between individualism and socialism. It is not an alternative between the devil taking the hindmost or the devil taking the foremost; rather it is for the social constable to take the devil into custody. Individualism and socialism are the two vicious extremes; the golden mean of social organization lies between them. The old organization suited to simple little changing conditions of society, with narrow frontiers, thin populations, and petty industry without science or machinery, broke down in the age of industrial revolution, and allowed the strong to prey on the weak. "Leave us alone," said the Individualist; "Pull all down," said the Socialist; "Reconstruct," said Reason. And, in fact, reconstruction in all civilized countries has proceeded apace; witness the elaborate codes of factory laws and workmen's insurance (workmen's compensation and old age pensions are part of it),(1) witness the immense growth of all kinds of workmen's associations, from the British trade unions and co-operative societies, to the rural banking associations in Italy; witness the development of welfare institutions, such as those connected with the name of Lever in England, Harmel in France, Brandt in Germany and Heinz in America.(2) Thus when Leo XIII so emphatically urged all classes to unite in the work of social reform, the State, the workmen's associa-

(1) The extent of such legislation can be gathered from the fact that the legislation of the world's industrial countries for the one year 1904 covers nearly 600 large octavo pages of the Belgian *Annuaire de la Législation du Travail*, Bruxelles, 1905.

(2) Many interesting details are given in Mr. Budgett Meakin's *Model Factories and Villages*, 1905. But he forgets that the "profitableness" of philanthropy mainly depends on its being exceptional, the model works being able to attract a superior class of workpeople, and an exceptional number of customers.

tions, and the private philanthropists each to contribute their share and act in harmony, he showed himself a true humanist, recognizing the good forces in existence and promoting their harmony and vigor.

To say, then, that if we reject socialism we have no alternative but individualism is contrary to fact; and to say that every step towards social reform is a step towards socialism is to confuse antidote with poison.

The social question is not solved, but, unless for some untimely interruption of socialism, is in process of solution, new bottles being prepared for the new wine.

The problem put widely, is how to secure the material advantages of the capitalist administration of industry, and yet according to the varying circumstances of each country to control this capitalist force, so as to limit its disintegrating effect on the family and the State, and its pressure on individuals.⁽¹⁾ This doctrine of the reformation and not the supersession of modern industry is taught by the Jesuit Father Henry Koch; the technical changes and immense works of modern industry render the old personal and patriarchal relations impracticable and obsolete; and unless the workmen are united in associations and protected by factory laws and insurance, they are inferior to the employer in fact, though at law his equal. But the workmen are not to be excluded from the growing refinements of the age and the benefits of civilization. Indeed, the change in politics from absolute or autocratic to constitutional government must have its analogue in economics; the arbitrary must be eliminated, and the labor-contract changed from a brutal strug-

(1) This is pointed out by Dr. W. Cunningham, a chief figure among historical economists, *Western Civilization*, Vol. II, Bk. VI, chap. i.

gle into a constitutional agreement; the aim being to unite the utmost efficiency of technical equipment and business management with the liberty and dignity of the work people; an aim not more difficult than to unite constitutional with efficient government. And thus the mere tolerance, more or less niggardly, of workmen's unions is half-hearted folly; rather let them be recognized, established and wrought into the system of industrial peace. The days of mere patronage or paternalism—men's homes and fortunes, work and wages, dependent on the good will of others—these days are over, and the days of democratic equality are at hand.(1)

To this let us give our welcome assent. It is the echo of Bishop Stang's practical exhortation: "Vain and unprofitable is a longing for past ages, with their domestic and social advantages; for the past will not return, and God is still with us in the present. * * * We are now in the age of steam and electricity, of machines and factories, and we thank God for it."(2) Such words breathe the spirit of Leo XIII, who welcomed the nineteenth century as showing "public 'vantage ampler grown, and nature's powers made known," and bade us regard the variations of times and circumstances, the needs of each age, and each historical situation.(3)

(1) *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, September and October, 1905. Practical details in abundance can be found in the work (*Die Arbeiterfrage*, popular edition, 1904) of the professor-priest Dr. F. Hitze, one of the stars of the German Centre Party. American problems are fearlessly faced by Dr. Stang, the Bishop of Fall River, in his *Socialism and Christianity*, New York, 1905. In France the numerous publications of *L'Action Populaire* show what can be done and is to be done: for example, *Prêtres de France*, by various authors, 1905.

(2) *Socialism and Christianity*. Preface.

(3) The references to the letters of the Pope are to be found in "The Political Economy of Leo XIII," *Dublin Review*, April and July, 1902.

Now the gravity of our present situation is not that we have to decide whether it shall be democratic or anti-democratic, but whether the democracy shall be Christian or anti-Christian. If anti-Christian, then indeed I see no barrier to the advent of socialism, not indeed in endurance, but in attempt. The sorry arguments I have deprecated are but fuel to the flames, a support, not an answer, to the socialist claim. The day of dogmas is over, they will say, and if we have given up kneeling at Christian altars, it is not that we may kneel before professional scarecrows. And the very historical argument on which I have based my defence, and the appeal to sound humanity, implies a certain identification of humanity with Christianity, implies an *anima naturaliter Christiana*, implies a living Church capable of judging what is sound and of giving us a key for the scornful interpretation of history. Else we must be silent before the scornful objection that anything can be proved by history.

Nor will the defenders of the existing social order find their salvation in modern philosophy, as far as that philosophy is isolated from Christian theology. If it is based on Hegel, a prior claim to knowledge of the master's true mind can be put in by Karl Marx, the socialist, Hegel's avowed disciple. Besides, in a recent remarkable volume, a distinguished fellow and tutor of Oxford makes the current theories of truth all crumble to dust in the face of criticism, and declares the foundations of philosophical thinking to be fatally insecure.⁽¹⁾ And then, as noticed

(1) *The Nature of Truth*, by Harold H. Joachim, Oxford, 1906. The author, indeed, deprecates scepticism; and whether his work, by clearing "much sham knowledge" away, may not be invaluable for philosophic reconstruction is well worthy inquiry.

in the July number of this Review.(1) and a graver embarrassment in the anti-socialist argument, another official guide and teacher of English youth openly bids us abandon Christianity. But, then, other things besides philosophic or theological presuppositions can be exposed to destructive criticism. Indeed, the practical reason and moral side of our nature, having a traitor within the walls, yields to assault more easily than the intellectual side. Those extremists of the higher criticism who eliminate the supernatural will find that to outgrow reverence for Scripture is to outgrow reverence for property, and all in vain as a financial basis will invoke some mystical cloud or Glory of the Lord to cover, not the Israelite Tabernacle, but their balances at Coutts's and their investment in Kaffirs. Who is to hinder the coming of the collectivist commonwealth or induce an anti-Christian democracy while the power is in its own hands to leave the property in another's? Nay, if the very nature of truth is unknown to us, and no lessons but the lessons we like can be learnt from history, who am I or anyone else to say presumptuously that socialism must issue in failure?

This, then, is the menacing prospect that needs more than garden cities or secular philosophy to lighten it. The natural cannot suffice without the supernatural; or, put in another way, the natural divorced from the supernatural ceases itself to be natural. Then the sanctity of family life, the reverence for authority, the love of country, can be reasoned away, and the very grounds of human welfare crumble to dust. But grace presupposes nature, and a supernatural Church presupposes a natural world. When, therefore, the foundations of natural civilization

(1) P. 216, notice of *The Religion of All Good Men*, by H. W. Garrod.

begin to totter, the supernatural Church supports them, fulfilling the function of the guardian of humanism and of the religion of humanity. And it is the socialists themselves who unwillingly bear witness in her favor. For on the continent of Europe they pursue the Catholic Church with implacable hatred, and in America regard her as the one great obstacle to their victorious spread.(1) For wherever the Catholic Church is a social force to be reckoned with there, just as the serpent writhes at the shadow of the eagle soaring in the sky overhead, so the socialists, whether in Germany or Belgium, in Italy or France, in Spain or the United States, instinctively recognize their unconquerable foe.(2)

In the second century before Christ two noble brothers, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, sought to stem the social evils of their time, and to set the economic structure of Rome on a secure basis. But we, threatened with dangers not altogether dissimilar, can succeed where they failed. For it is on the rock that we raise our social edifice, not on the sand; and as the base on which we build we have Him of whom it is written: "Other foundation no man can lay."

C. S. DEVAS, in *Dublin Review*, October, 1906.

(1) Dr. Stang, *Socialism and Christianity*, p. 33.

(2) Let us not be misled by the mildness of our English Fabian socialism, or the looseness with which the word socialism is made convertible with any social reform. Even the word collectivism is used in Mr. Dicey's *Law and Public Opinion* in the general sense of state intervention, quite unlike the precise and technical sense which the word usually bears. And the so-called Australasian socialism has little in common with genuine socialism, but by its advocacy of small rural property, stringent factory laws, workmen's associations and conciliation in labor disputes, is closely akin to the Christian social action urged by Leo XIII and Pius X.

The Delusion of Christian Science



Mrs. Eddy is still a popular puzzle. Even her existence is discussed and furnishes matter for the press when news is dull. Her followers are numerous, running, it is asserted, even into the millions. That they are enthusiastic cannot be doubted. Five years ago it was the fashion to make pious pilgrimages to her shrine, and a daily paper on one of those occasions thus describes what took place: "The visitors came from all quarters of the earth to visit the Mother. They represented every class and condition of life," and the writer hastens to add: "Among them were members of the most intellectual and exclusive circles of Boston, a British earl and many persons of title from Europe.

"Over three thousand persons went there. More would have gone, but even the extra trains were already overcrowded. The distance from the railway terminus was two miles; many walked it in the hot sun with the thermometer at 90 degrees. They were admitted to the grounds at 10 o'clock, and spent several hours examining the various objects of interest, especially those used by Mrs. Eddy. Some excitement was caused at 12.30 by the report that Mrs. Eddy was about to appear to her followers; but this was unfounded. It was not till about 2 o'clock that she appeared on the balcony. The vast throng pressed around, anxious not to miss one look or word of the 'Mother.' She came out on the balcony with a firm step. Her manner and bearing were majestic. She looked well, in spite of her eighty years. She was handsomely attired in a silk dress and wore a blue bonnet with gold trimmings. She spoke about a minute. She

then bowed her head so that all the throng, which stood gazing intently at her, might look into her eyes. Half an hour later the crowd caught a glimpse of her as she came out of the house to enter her carriage. All uncovered their heads until she drove away. Afterwards with loving eyes they gazed at 'Mother's' favorite armchair, at her favorite walk and at other objects and places made interesting by intimate associations with her." This is a veritable adoration of relics. Gazing in the "Mother's" eyes is very loving and tender.

Besides being enthusiastic, they are animated by conviction. Witness the splendid temples, some of them costing millions of dollars, which are being erected everywhere. Nor is the "Mother" left in poverty. Has she not her fine house? Is she not "handsomely attired in a silk dress?" Does she not wear her blue bonnet with gold trimmings? Does she not escape in her carriage from the admiring throng, and is not the world speculating about her wealth? Her own business capacity is undoubted. Each member to have the faith must have the book of "Science and Health," and apparently renew it with each edition. In 1901, the two hundred and twelfth edition had already been issued. As a business it is splendidly conducted.

On all these points it is satisfactory, but in other respects it is not. In the first place its title is misleading; whether intentionally or not matters little. It is called Christian Science. It certainly is not science and cannot by any possible extension of the term be considered Christian.

Science, in its present acceptation, scoffs at metaphysics, but Mrs. Eddy boasts of having "presided during seven years over the *Metaphysical* College in Boston, where

4,000 students were trained in the teaching of the new gospel." "Divine Science," she assures us, "rising above physical theories, excludes matter, resolves things into thoughts, and replaces the objects of material sense with spiritual ideas."

Again, Huxley, Tyndall, Darwin and the host of men whom we regard as the expositors of science, deal with nothing but matter and insist that only in the study of its laws is there any real truth. They are agnostic to things spiritual. But Mrs. Eddy, who is very chummy with them in some ways, insists on the contrary view and is convinced that "natural science, as it is commonly called, is not really natural or scientific, because it is deduced from the evidence of the physical senses." With physiology she is especially severe and tells "it is not even good for a horse." (72)

Moreover, whether science is physical or metaphysical, it supposes a coherent system of teaching. It must proceed in an orderly fashion from truth to truth in the acquisition of the complete body of knowledge which the science in question professes to impart. But the book called "Science and Health," which is the gospel of this new creed, and a thorough acquaintance with which is declared essential for her followers, is the most indescribable jumble of unconnected untruths that ever a distracted printer put on his forms, or that an unfortunate enquirer was forced to examine. In fact, she very frankly informs us that we cannot hope to understand it by mere perusal. That must come from study; and modern Samaritan that she is, she picks us up when half dead and stripped of our intellectuals, and sets us on the road with copious marginal notes to help us out.

Here are specimens of these marginal notes in a couple

of pages taken at random: "Odor and Catalepsy; Mathematics and Logic; Truth by Inversion; Divinity Childless; Thought Forms; Reptilian Demand." Alas! they do not allure or illuminate; and we more than agree with the prophetess. We cannot grasp even the marginal admonitions, much less wade through the indescribable chaos of the rest of the book, for which, no doubt, we should be grateful. We have attempted it once; have escaped alive and will never try it again.

Such things as the following meet us at every step: "Divine metaphysics as revealed to my understanding show me that all is mind and mind is God." "Nothing that we can say about matter is true." "Electricity is not a vital fluid, but the least material form of illusive consciousness—a material mindlessness." "The theoretical mind is matter, named brain, or material consciousness." "Faith is higher and more spiritual than belief." "Let us remember that the harmonious and immortal man existed forever." "Gender is a quality, a characteristic of mind, not matter." "The saying of the Master, 'I and the Father are one,' separated Him from the scholastic theology of the rabbis." "As reflecting God, man cannot lose his individuality, but as a material sensation, as a dream of soul in the body, man does lose his individuality." "The supposition that corporeal beings are spirits is a mistake. So-called spirits are but corporeal communicators." "If Spirit or God communed with mortals through electricity, this would destroy divine order and the Science of the Omnipotent mind." "The earth's orbit and the imaginary line called the equator are not substance." "The Master said plainly that physique was not spirit." "Man is the idea of divine Principle, not physique. He is the compound idea of

God, including all right ideas; the generic term for all that reflects God's image; the conscious identity of Being, etc." "Identity is the reflection of Spirit in multifarious forms of the living Principle." "Nerves are part of a belief that there is sensation in matter."

Absurdities of this description are scattered with a generous hand through 600 pages.

As regards a discoverable sequence of ideas, or an orderly, well-arranged development or growth of her variegated phantasies into anything like a system which could claim even remotely to be classified in the category of science, there is not the slightest vestige, or anything suggestive of an attempt at it. It is a perfect rag-bag of shreds and remnants, of fancies, platitudes, half truths, gross errors and extravagantly pietistic sentiments, to which her imagination and that of her followers have given every conceivable color and form, and to which they have attached spiritual and cabalistic significations.

While being atrociously unscientific, it is at the same time most reprehensibly un-Christian. Like her great fellow-countrywoman, Carrie Nation, Mrs. Eddy has gone forth with an axe, and there is not a portion of the ancient fabric of her New England Puritanical creed that she has not reduced to splinters. The existence of God, the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, prayer, fasting, hell, judgment, the Ten Commandments (except inasmuch as they are made to forbid tobacco and alcohol), humility, mercy, humanity and all the laws of common sense, lie in ruin around while she smiles on the wreck and holds up her bantling of Science to the world and dubs it Christian.

"Who," she says, speaking of the fundamental Christian dogma, "can conceive either of three persons as one person, or of three infinities in one infinity?" No, good

dame, no one can; but that is not the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, although, no doubt, you state it to your satisfaction and fancy you are imparting light to your disciples.

"There is a dual personality in Christ," she informs us, "the unseen and the seen, the spiritual and material, the Christ and Jesus." Old Nestorius, centuries ago, would have welcomed her among his followers even if some flounces are added to his error. "Christ is eternal," she says, "Jesus is mortal," and in another place "Christ is the Holy Ghost, the Comforter."

According to her, there is no such thing as sin. It is all a dream; and you have only to will it to be rid of it as well as of its ugly consequences in the way of sorrow and penance. "Fasting is a senseless belief"; "Christ never fasted." "Prayer is unnecessary as the All has already decreed what is good for us." "A mere request that God will heal the sick has no power to gain more of the divine presence than is always at hand," and her gloss on the Our Father, while being a curious bit of conceit, reveals the fact that she regards that form of supplication merely as a statement and not a petition. Thus:

Our Father which are in heaven;

Our Father-Mother God, all harmonious.

The "Father-Mother-God" is delicious, for one who protests so fiercely against the anthropomorphic.

Hallowed be Thy name;

Adorable One,

Thy Kingdom come;

Thy Kingdom is come.

Thus she proceeds; never asking, never entreating, but affirming that the things which Christ bade us ask for, *are.*

What we have noted are only a few of her scandalous

travesties of Christian doctrine. Her treatment of Holy Scripture is like that of the old preacher whose wrath was aroused against the top-knot habit common long ago in our grandfathers' days, and who thundered from his pulpit, "Top-knot, come down." He was perverting for his purpose the well-known passage: "Let him who is on the housetop, not come down." Now this feminine nierophant treats Holy Scripture in precisely the same scandalous fashion. Thus, for example, to bolster up her nonsense about *mortal mind*, she says: "According to the Scripture I find that God is true and every *mortal mind* a liar," while the text is "every *man* is a liar." She inserts her word mortal and adds mind to it, for the sake of her theory about the wickedness of mortal as against the spiritual mind. In the same frivolous fashion she wants to prove that atonement means making ourselves one with God, and she accordingly hyphenates it, "*at-one-ment*." The word "Adam," she informs us, "is from the Hebrew Adamah, signifying the red color of the ground, dust" (elsewhere she calls him red sandstone). "Divide now the name Adam into two syllables," she says, "and it reads *a-dam*, or obstruction. This suggests the thought of something fluid, or mortal mind in solution, of the darkness which seemed to appear when darkness was on the face of the deep and matter stood opposed to spirit as that which was accursed," all of which is irreverent joking, or silliness.

Countless other examples might be cited of the un-Christian character of this "new gospel," as she calls it, but it may all be summed up in the question and answer which she gives us on page 492: "Have Christian Scientists any religious creed? They have not, if we accept the term as doctrinal beliefs."

That ought to settle it. Christianity has a creed which St. Paul tells us that not even an angel of heaven can presume to alter without being accursed. There is no option for a Christian to treat this "new gospel" of Mrs. Eddy in any other fashion.

Of course, this uneducated and presumptuous woman is unaware of the errors into which she stumbles. Thus, for instance, she claims to have discovered that there is no such thing as matter, quite oblivious of the fact that Bishop Berkley, the old Irish Protestant prelate of the eighteenth century, had made a similar claim in his day, and that the world had taken note that Bishop Berkley said there was no matter, but added "there was no matter what Bishop Berkley said." The scoffing world will repeat the phrase even when Berkley's fun is repeated by the Massachusetts Metaphysical College.

Again, she is deep in the slough of German Idealism and out-Hegels Hegel in evolving everything from her Ego. In fact, the old German must look up from his abode in Orcus and envy the improvement she makes in his theory. He contented himself with evolving from his *I* the whole world, material and spiritual alike, but she works in two *Is*; one *Mind* with a large *m*, which is the All, and another with a small *m* (which as far as a good-natured man can make out, is the sentient principle of the body), "which evolves tumors, ulcers, inflammation, deformed spines," in a word, all matter, this book included. Not that it gives them reality; it only erroneously imagines them to exist. "They are dream shadows, dark images of mortal thoughts, which will ultimately flee before the light of the Mind," with a big *m*. Her attitude in this old and long discredited philosophy is illustrated by a quotation on the fly leaf of her "Science and Health."

It comes after others from the Bible and Shakespeare, and ought not to be "Anonymous":

"I, I, Itself, I

The inside and outside, the what and the why;

The when and the where, the low and the high,

All I, I, I, I itself I."

One instinctively asks, is Mrs. E. amusing herself?

She is a Manichæan, of course, when she tells us that all the material world is evil and comes from the devil; two words which she regards as philologically related. Surely she will not pretend that Manichæism is Christianity. Finally, besides many other things, she is guilty of Pantheism.

"I am not a pantheist," she insists, for "pantheism is a belief in the intelligence of matter," which is assuredly a poor definition of that form of error, but it furnishes a fair measure of the lady's knowledge, especially as immediately after the protest, she moans plaintively: "Oh! when will the ages understand the Ego, and see only One God, One Mind, or Intelligence! In science it can never be said that one has a mind of his own, distinct from God the All-Mind." Apparently the fundamentals of education are lacking.

She says indeed "Man is not God, the Ego." But she continues: "Like the ray of light that cometh from the sun, man is the outcome of God." This is pantheism. To say that "All is Mind, and Mind is God" is pantheism; "Soul is God, unchangeable, eternal, and man coexists with and reflects soul" is pantheism; "Spirit cannot believe in God, for spirit is God," while it contradicts Christ, Who insists upon belief, is pantheism; and, finally, to assert: "In Science it can never be said of a mortal that he has a mind of his own distinct from God"

is the flattest kind of pantheistic error. Such statements are met with at every step. Evidently the writer does not know the meaning of the words she uses.

In this age of æstheticism, it is astounding that "the members of the most exclusive and intellectual circles of Boston, the British Earl, and many persons of title from Europe," whom the *New York Journal* describes as being among Mrs. Eddy's adorers, do not revolt at the vulgarity of this ridiculous creed that is offered to them. A religion which is, if not altogether, at least chiefly, for health, is certainly not intellectual, in spite of all its affectation of spirituality and philosophy. It is vulgar and coarse. It is the unholy desire of seeing signs and wonders which Christ reproved in the mob; it is the religion of the voluptuous Herod, who interrogated Christ, hoping to see a sign; it is that of the Pharisees who challenged him to perform a miracle as they stood around the cross. It is actuated by the same motive as that which prompts the multitude who clamor around every "healer" who appears from time to time, makes money and disappears. It speculates on that element in human nature which quack doctors cultivate with their cures for every ill. It is the voodooism of the negro doctor of the Southern plantations. It is the method of the Mad Prophet who appeared a few years ago in Jamaica, leading thousands of excited blacks to bathe in the filthy waters of a once clear creek in the hope of a cure of their maladies. The Christian Scientists have the "Prophet" without the water. About the legality of letting the victims of this delusion die without medical aid, that is a matter which the conscript fathers must settle. To the plain man in the street it seems like letting a somnambulist walk out of a window; and, on the other hand, making

Christian Scientists medical men is supposing that deaf-mutes sing.

But is it not true that cures without number followed the teachings of Christ? It is, but curing the sick was not the object of His mission. He "had compassion on the multitude," but his miracles were intended primarily and chiefly to bring conviction to the blind and obstinate generation whom He addressed. "If you do not believe me, believe my works." Moreover, He never wrought a miracle for Himself. He was hungry and thirsty, in suffering and in pain; but He warned His disciples that it was necessary to undergo all that in order to enter into the glory of heaven. It is, perhaps, worth noting here, that these Christian Scientists, though, of course, unaware of it (for they are, in fact, deplorably ignorant in such matters), are in reality reviving one of the earliest heresies in the church, that, namely, of the Docetæ, who taught that the sufferings of Christ were not real, but only apparent. Strauss and his followers taught the same blasphemy. It is thus that the clouds of error keep continually rolling back over the human mind. In fact, most of the philosophical vagaries of the day are only the revamped nonsense of the past.

The Apostles, also, had the gift of healing, but they used it only as the voucher of their divine mission. They invariably spoke in the name of Jesus Christ, attributing no power to themselves, and always precluding the exercise of it by humble prayer and supplication, all of which things are not only conspicuously but professedly absent in this modern thaumaturge who is diverting, at times, in her experiments, while avoiding the doctors. As with Christ, the Apostles never used these powers for themselves, but "gloried in their infirmities as the stigmata of

their Master, knowing that in these infirmities their virtue was perfected." Read St. Paul's account of the multitude and variety of his sufferings, and see how awfully and dreadfully real they were; but from them he never attempted to deliver himself. The science which he had of Jesus Christ made him know, as it makes all other Christians know, that anguish and pain are not evils of themselves, and are certainly not dreams, but are conditions of life permitted or sent by a merciful God to enable us to atone for our sins or the sins of others, and to make them a means of gaining happiness which can never be interrupted by pain or sorrow. The absence of the cross shows how unchristian is this Christian Science. If it be for our advantage or the glory of God that these sufferings should be taken from us in some miraculous way, He will relieve us of them; for the same power exists in the Church now as in the time of the Apostles. The great servants of God in the Old and in the New Testament, like Moses and Elias, and Gregory and Francis Xavier and a host of other glorious ones, have given sight to the blind, and health to the sick, and life to the dead; but it was only that God might be glorified, that His teaching might be affirmed and men be strengthened in virtue. The same thing is going on to-day at Lourdes, not for all indeed, but for those whom God chooses; that their spiritual condition may be bettered, that the world may be taught purity at the feet of the Immaculate, and that it may be convinced by the divine manifestations at her shrine that the Church which honors her is the pillar and ground of truth. Preternatural manifestations that have nothing to do with Christ, and especially those which propose to discredit His teachings, even if they mas-

querade under His holy name, are from the Spirit of evil and lead to damnation.

It may be true that some people have been the recipients of help, in the matter of health, through Christian Science. But in the first place, it is at least possible that, after the excitement has subsided, medical science may explain the phenomenon; but, putting it at its best, supposing that the cure was not imaginary nor temporary, but real and permanent, that fact, even if it were true, would not warrant any sane person in adopting, in consequence, a false and un-Christian doctrine. Otherwise I could abandon my faith because of my poverty, or in order to advance my worldly ambition. The very basic principle of my religion is that I should adhere to it in spite of poverty, humiliation or sickness; nay, that, like the martyrs, I should die for it if need be. Faith in Christ is the only means of gaining eternal happiness and avoiding eternal woe. That is the most precious possession I have, and I cannot sacrifice it for health of body or any other consideration whatever. To get my health at the price of being an enemy of Jesus Christ, of reviling and despising his doctrines, is not a permissible exchange.

Secondly, even if I do not lose my faith, but especially if I do, the very gift of health, though I do not think so, may be my ruin. It would have been infinitely better for many a man to have died in his youth than to have gone on to the disasters of later years. Many a child for whose recovery in infancy a frantic mother has pleaded, has turned out to be a curse for her in after life. It must not be forgotten that if God has promised to grant us temporal favors, including health, in answer to prayer, he does so only on condition that they will be conducive to our spiritual good. "What

father," He says, "if his child asks him for bread will give him a stone, or for fish and will give him a serpent?" The stone may seem bread to the child and the serpent, fish, but the father knows better than the silly child who is clamoring. There are worse disasters than sickness, there are worse ruins than death.

Thirdly, the evil spirit is a deceiver, and has, by his superior intelligence and, perhaps, by the permitted control over certain forces of nature, the means of producing effects which have the appearance of being supernatural, but which are really not so, and which he intends for our harm. The soothsayers in the court of Pharaoh had powers which produced terror and consternation and were intended to influence the monarch to destroy the people of God. The witch of Endor, to whom Saul resorted, called up the ghost of Samuel from the dead; but it ended in the suicide of Saul, the destruction of his army, the almost utter ruin of his country, and his own eternal infamy; for his head was cut off, his armor suspended in the temple of Astaroth, the goddess of impurity, and his body on the walls of Bethsan for the vultures to feed on. And what is true in these typical cases, is true for all who resort to those wonder workers who have not upon them the seal and stamp of Jesus Christ. Let us remember that their power is often pretence and deceit, and there is every reason why the evil spirit should help them for his own ends. Commerce with the enemies of Christ commonly ends in the temple of Astaroth and the vultures.

Naturally every one asks what is the psychological explanation of the movement? In the first place, such religious tantrums are not unknown phenomena in the Church. Not infrequently deluded women have claimed

divine inspiration and have led saints astray. The ruin of Tertullian is a case in point.

As regards this particular vagary, it is quite possible that the commercialism of the day has had something to do with its inception or progress; that either its author or some of her supporters have had a fine prescience of its capacities as a business enterprise. Its achievements in that respect are certainly phenomenal. It knows how to avail itself of the susceptibility of the public to refined advertising.

Secondly, credulity is the peculiarity of unbelief. The most irreligious are often the most superstitious, and those who reject Christianity will swallow without a grimace the most shocking absurdities. Now, this whole creed stands on the bald assertion that Mrs. Eddy received a revelation "when standing already in the shadow of the death valley. I won my way to absolute conclusions through divine revelation, reason and experiment." The word of this interested and excited woman is surely not enough to enforce conviction among reasonable men, especially when her utterances are so manifestly nonsensical. But it is a punishment often meted out to those who reject divine truth that they, of their own accord, eagerly and most fanatically accept the most ludicrous of human errors.

Thirdly, in our days anything audacious "goes"; especially if a man has nothing back of his claims but his courage. Thus the whole world laughed at the exploit of the redoubtable "Captain" Voigt, the old German cobbler, who donned a uniform, commandeered a squad, and captured the city of Köpernick. We were sorry to see him sent to jail. He was a genius unwisely adjusted. But there are plenty of spiritual Voigts with

Köpericks, and many bewildered squads who never examine their "Captain's" credentials. Mrs. E. is a genius with a squad.

Fourthly, we have all gone crazy about science and health. A good lady comes forward and assures us we can get both on easy terms, and some believe her.

Fifthly, we are not yet willing to declare ourselves un-Christian. Nineteen centuries of tradition cannot easily lose their influence. But we want a Christianity without creed. This new addition to the museum of religious curiosities fills the bill.

Lastly, the modern mind revolts at the idea of sin with its consequent guilt and reparation. This overindulgent "Mother" assures us that murders, robberies, adulteries and all the rest are only dreams and delusions. What more delightful! And who would not be a Christian Scientist! It fits in with the growing belief that criminals are victims of physical conditions, pressure of the brain, poor eyes, etc., and with the pretence that suicide and, in some cases, even murder, is justifiable. Well-known physicians have actually advocated hastening the death of incurables, and prenatal destruction of life is a common practice; while to maintain that almost any kind of sexual indulgence is wrong would raise a smile in some quarters. In other words, "there is no damned error but some reverend brow will bless it and approve it with a text." This is what the only reverend person in this sect does systematically in ethics as in dogma. She eliminates the moral law.

There is a Christian Science which tells us whence we come, whither we are going, what to do, what to avoid, how to convert the physical and moral woes of life into a means of salvation, but that science is not Mrs. Eddy's.

T. J. CAMPBELL, S.J.

